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The Madras Journal of Literature and Science

FOR THE YEAR

1881.

EDITED BY

GUSTAV OPPERT, PH.D.,

PROFESSOR OF SANSKRIT, PRESIDENCY COLLEGE, MADRAS;
TELUGU TRANSLATOR TO GOVERNMENT;
CURATOR, GOVERNMENT ORIENTAL MANUSCRIPTS LIBRARY;
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NATURAL HISTORY

THE

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CONTENTS.

PAGES

I. Nītiprakāśikā, by Dr. Gustav Oppert .. .. .. 1—80

II. The Predecessors of the High Court of Madras, by John Shaw, Esq., late Registrar of the High Court, Madras .. 81—157

III. 'Ilm-i-Tajwīd, by the Rev. Edward Sell, B.D. .. .. 158—204

IV. Two Inscriptions deciphered, translated and explained by Dr. Gustav Oppert .. .. 205—278

V. Sketch of the work of the Geological Survey in Southern India, by Robert Bruce Foote, Esq., F.G.S., Deputy Superintendent, Geological Survey of India .. .. 279—328

VI. List of Saura Words collected by W. Grahame, Esq., B.A., M.C.S., and arranged by Dr. Gustav Oppert .. .. 329—337

PLATE.

A photograph of the Raichore Inscription (*opposite the title page*).

The
Madras Journal of Literature
and Science.

THE NĪTIPRAKĀŚIKĀ.

THE Nītiprakāśikā or "expounder of polity" is ascribed to Vaiśampāyana, the pupil of Vyāsa. This Vaiśampāyana is also connected with the Yajurvēda and with the Mahābhārata, which he is said to have recited to the king Janamējaya at Takṣaśilā. In its contents, the Nītiprakāśikā coincides in many points with the Rāmāyaṇa, especially with its first two books; but the reader is also often reminded of the Mahābhārata and the Harivaṁśa. The latter part of the Nītiprakāśikā contains also passages which may be found in works on law and on polity, as in the Mānavadharmaśāstra and the Kāmandakīya. Introductory remarks.

The fact that the same passages occur in different works by no means proves that the passages in one work have been borrowed from another, especially if we have reason to suppose that there existed a period, when, the text of early compositions being still unsettled, many *dicta* were regarded as public property, and were, as such, embodied in various texts.

The principal part of the Nītiprakāśikā is that comprising the Dhanurvēda, and this, as far as I know, in a form more complete than any other work; the four chapters in the Agnipurāṇa (248–251) being very defective when compared in this respect with the Nītiprakāśikā.

The Dhanurvēda is the Upavēda attached to the Yajurvēda, so that it is easy to understand why Vaiśampāyana has been connected with the authorship of the Nītiprakāśikā, which contains the Dhanurvēda.

The Nītiprakāśikā belongs to the same class of works as the Mahābhārata and the Harivaṁśa; the narrator of both the latter being Vaiśampāyana, it is natural to suppose that he should also recite the Nītiprakāśikā to Janamējaya. Moreover, in style and language it closely resembles those poems, and its contents supply no grounds which would prevent us from assigning to it a considerable age. On the other hand, the Nītiprakāśikā does not appear to have been often mentioned in other old Sanskrit works, if we omit a not yet certified quotation in the Vikramārkacaritra;[1] but the absence of such evidence is no argument against its antiquity. For we should never forget that we possess only a small portion of the ancient Sanskrit literature, that our actual knowledge of the political and domestic constitution of the ancient Hindus is insignificant to a degree, and that the earlier the truth of this fact is admitted and recognized by the investigating scholar the less shall we be overwhelmed with groundless assertions, the less shall we have to listen to absurd criticisms, and the more is opened out to us the hope to get nearer to the truth.

As I have mentioned in my monograph on the arms and weapons of the ancient Hindus, the Nītiprakāśikā has never yet been published, and the first intimation of its existence

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[1] The commentary of Sītārāma ascribes the following ślōka to the Vikramārkacaritra:

तदुक्तं विक्रमार्कचरित्रे—

श्रुत्वा वैशंपायनाद्धृष्टो जनमेजयस्तदा ।

अष्टाध्यायवतीं नीतिं प्रावर्तयत तां तथा ॥

and its contents was also given in that work.[2] The Nītiprakāśikā contains much valuable and hitherto unknown information, and I shall give a short English epitome of it so far as I have not described it previously. This short introduction will be followed by the Sanskrit text. Of this I possess two copies: one was supplied to me by M.R.Ry. T. Kṛishṇa Row, a learned Brahman of Triplikane, and the other I procured from Mysore. The former is written in Telugu letters, and contains a complete commentary compiled by one Sītārāma, the son of Nañjuṇḍa.[3] The name Nañjuṇḍa is in common use in Mysore, in Bellary and its neighbourhood; and a learned Kanarese Brahman from Mysore, whom I consulted, states that Sītārāma lived about three

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[2] In my monograph "On the Weapons, &c. of the ancient Hindus," I have frequently made mention of the contents of the Nītiprakāśikā and of the Śukranīti, declaring that the former was till now *utterly unknown*, and that it contained a description of the Dhanurvēda (*see* the Preface, pages 4 and 9, and pages 170 and 175 of the Madras Journal of 1879). The (London) *Academy* gave on the 9th October 1880 a short notice of my book, and, in spite of my statement, twice assigned the Dhanurvēda to the Śukranīti, which it called *an ancient work on the Dhanurvēda ascribed to Uśana.* The critical notice closes strangely enough with this sentence: "Professor Oppert makes no mention of the edition of the Nītiprakāśikā brought out by Rajendra Lāl Mitra in the Bibliotheca Indica."

Wishing to correct these statements I wrote on the 11th November a letter to the Editor of the *Academy*, which was *not* published, and among other things suggested, that as the Nītiprakāśikā had never been printed, and as Dr. Rajendralāl Mitra had published an edition of the Kāmandakīya, the critic might have made the mistake by confounding the name of the title *Nītiprakāśikā* with the word *Nītisāra*, as the Kāmandakīya, being a *Nītisāra*, is generally called *Kāmandakīya Nītisāra.* This remark of mine is probably the origin of the correction contained in the *Academy* of December 24th, 1880, page 459, which runs as follows:—"In a notice of Professor Oppert's Weapons, &c., of the Ancient Hindus, which appeared in our issue of October 9th, read in the last clause *Kāmandakīya* for *Nītiprakāśikā.*" As I had myself quoted the printed Kāmandakīya more than twenty times, and as I had laid stress on the fact that the Nītiprakāśikā had not only not been printed but was utterly unknown, and as it was not necessary to allude to Dr. Rajendralāl Mitra as an editor of the Kāmandakīya, I cannot but admire the ingenious manner of this correction.

[3] Nañjuṇḍa is a Dravidian name for Śiva, meaning *one who has eaten poison* (from *nañju*, poison, and *uṇḍa*, one who has eaten), a supplementary name to the well known Sanskrit *Nīlakaṇṭha.*

hundred years ago. The other copy is written in Grantha characters.

Contents of the Nītiprakāśikā. First Chapter.

The Nītiprakāśikā contains eight chapters or cantos,[4] and it opens with introducing the sage Vaiśampāyana on his way to visit the king Janamējaya, who resided in Takṣaśilā. As soon as the king—who was a son of Parīkṣit, grandson of Abhimanyu and great-grandson of Arjuna—had received this news, he set out with his ministers and priests to meet the sage. After the usual greetings had been gone through, the sage and the king adjourned to the council-room, and as soon as the former had taken a seat and the latter had done the same at the request of Vaiśampāyana, Janamējaya began to complain about the depravity of the times (I, 11–18).

Depravity of the Kaliyuga.

Righteousness, truth, purity, patience and pity, he said, are fast disappearing in the Kaliyuga, and wealth is more highly appreciated than noble birth, noble deeds, and virtue. The gratification of animal passions has taken the place of legitimate marriage; the mere wearing of the thread constitutes a person a Brahman; the religious position of a man is only defined by external signs; the poor man is despised, though he be good. Abstaining from a bad deed is esteemed a good action; bathing is deemed sufficient for purification; taking a woman is regarded marriage; beauty consists in wearing hair on the head. Filling one's stomach is the principal object in life; good actions are done for the sake of glorification; ability is only displayed in the keeping up of one's family; and rude behaviour passes for truthfulness. All castes are like Śūdras, as cows are like goats, religion abounds with heresy, and kings behave like thieves.[5]

This being the case, Janamējaya asks how men may in an easy manner be taught the rules of polity, as well as the secrets of the Dhanurvēda and the practice of arms. Vaiśam-

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[4] *See* Note 1.

[5] *Compare* the description of the Kaliyuga in the *Harivaṁśa*, Chapters 186 and 187.

pāyana replied that, knowing the wishes of the king, he had undertaken his journey to satisfy them. A preceptor should only speak when his pupil asks him and gives him thus an opportunity of answering, for if the instructor should explain without being requested to do so, he would commit a sin. He then goes on saying (I, 20–28), that, as Brahma, Rudra, Subrahmaṇya, Indra, Manu, Bṛhaspati, Śukra, Bharadvāja, Gauraśiras, and Vyāsa had respectively written 100,000, 50,000, 12,000, 6,000, 3,000, 1,000, 700, 500, and 300 chapters on polity,[6] he would not enlarge on the subject of polity.

Former works on polity.

He relates further that as Pṛthu,[7] the son of Vēna, had protected his subjects and conquered death, his subjects called him a *kṣatriya*, as he had saved them from destruction;[8] and that his title *rāja* came from the love he felt for them.[9] The earth brought forth her produce without being tilled; the grass was beautiful, soft and golden, and was used by men for their dress and their couch. Such distinction as there is now between countries and towns did not then exist; and wherever people dwelt, there the earth yielded her gifts. Pṛthu rendered water immoveable, he walked over the ocean, mountains gave way to him, and his royal ensign was never broken. He created 60,000 elephants and 6,000 mountains of gold, and gave them to the Brahmans, together with the earth and all her jewels.

The happy state of the world under king Pṛthu.

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[6] *See* my book *On the Weapons, Army Organisation, and Political Maxims of the ancient Hindus*, p. 36; and *Madras Journal of Literature for* 1879, p. 202.

[7] *See* Harivaṁśa about Pṛthu, Chap. II, 23—27; IV, 26—34; V and VI: also Kumārasambhava, I, 2.

[8] क्षतत्राणात्, I, 30; compare Raghuvaṁśa, II, 53—

क्षतात्किल त्रायत इत्युदग्रः क्षत्रस्य शब्दो भुवनेषु रूढः ।

[9] प्रजारागात्, I, 31; compare Raghuvaṁśa, IV, 12—

तथैव सोऽभूदन्वर्थो राजा प्रकृतिरञ्जनात् ।

Brahma instructs Pṛthu on his request in the Dhanurvēda.

Brahma being apprised of his virtues, visited Pṛthu and granted him a boon, upon which the latter, highly pleased, replied "Teach me the Dhanurvēda, with its 'members,' 'minor limbs' and 'secrets'; adorned with its arms and missiles. I am blessed among men that I have been granted the sight of you, the depository of the Vēda." To the king—who was immersed in the ocean of delight, on which Brahma's voice floated as a boat bearing away the enchanted Pṛthu—replied thus the Creator of the Universe: "The desire of learning the Dhanurvēda is given to you by fate, and I have come to teach it to you. The sword was formerly created by me in order to suppress wicked people; if it is in the hands of men resembling you, it will punish the bad. Thou art the first to whom the weapons, beginning with the bow, are imparted, and all the arms and missiles are therefore given to you. Bhṛśāśva had two wives,[10] Jayā and Suprabhā, the daughters of Dakṣa. Jayā obtained from me a boon, and brought forth all the arms and missiles; while the other, Suprabhā, became the mother of the powerful and unapproachable Saṁhāra weapons.[11] Having accepted from me the Dhanurvēda, protect all your subjects as if they were your sons. Knowing the nature of peace and war, being well accustomed to think and to discern, and familiar with the use of the six political principles[12] and well versed in all sciences; possessing the six regal qualities,[13] apply, according to your

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[10] Both forms Bhṛśāśva and Kṛśāśva occur.

[11] *See*: Weapons, p. 9; and Madras Journal for 1879, p. 175.

[12] *I.e.*, Sandhi, vigraha, yāna, āsana, dvaidhībhāva *and* samāśraya; *compare* Rāmāyaṇa (Carey and Marshman's edition) II, 72, 100 (or, according to the Grantha edition, II, 100, 69). Compare Mahābhārata, Śāntiparva, Rājadharma, LXIX, śl. 65-72.

[13] *I.e.*, the king should be, according to Nārada, eloquent, fearless, wise, of retentive memory, well versed in polity and gifted with originality.

वक्ता प्रगल्भो मेधावी स्मृतिमान् नयवित् कविः ।

strength or weakness, the seven State requisites,[14] and consider all the fourteen faults.[15] Having examined yourself and your enemies, make peace with your enemies and devote yourself to the eight pursuits of peace;[16] being acquainted with the intentions of the 18 principal officers of the enemy and with those of 15 of your own with the help of 6 spies, 3 observing

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[14] दशपञ्चचतुर्वर्गान् सप्तवर्गं च तत्त्वतः ।
अष्टवर्गं त्रिवर्गं च विद्यास्तिस्रश्च राघव ॥

Rām. II, 72, 99. The seven requisites are: king, ministers, friends, treasure, territory, forts, and an army.

[15] These 14 faults are atheism, untruth, anger, carelessness, procrastination, neglect of learned men, indolence, giving way to sensuality, thinking of nothing but wealth, consulting with ignorant persons, not beginning to carry out one's resolves, not keeping one's own counsel, non-observance of holidays and making war at the same time against all the enemies around.

नास्तिक्यमनृतं क्रोधं प्रमादं दीर्घसूत्रतां ।
अदर्शनं ज्ञानवतामालस्यं पञ्चवृत्तितां ॥ ९६ ॥
एकचिंतनमर्थानामनर्थज्ञैश्च मन्त्रणं ।
निश्चितानामनारम्भं मन्त्रस्यापरिरक्षणं ॥ ९७ ॥
मङ्गलाद्यप्रयोगं च प्रत्युत्थानं च सर्वतः ।
कच्चित्त्वं वर्जयस्येतान् राजदोषांश्चतुर्दश ॥ ९८ ॥

Rām. II, 72, 96—98.

[16] *Compare* Kāmandakīya V, 78, 79—

कृषिर्वणिक्पथो दुर्गं सेतुः कुञ्जरबन्धनं ।
खन्याकरधनादानं शून्यानां च निवेशनं ॥
अष्टवर्गमिमं साधु स्वच्छवृत्तो विवर्द्धयेत् ।

These eight pursuits comprise agriculture, commerce, fortification, public works (especially directed to erecting bridges and embankments), elephant-catching, working of jewel and gold mines, collection of taxes, and restoration of dilapidated buildings.

the enemy's and 3 his own officials,[17] having heard that the enemy is very weak,[18] attack him quickly with your threefold power,[19] represented by ministers, treasury and

[17] The 18 principal officers are the minister, house priest, crown prince, revenue officer, chamberlain, superintendent of the harem, head-gaoler, treasurer, master of the rolls, judge, municipal commissioner, engineer, official trustee, president of the council, commander-in-chief, superintendent of fortifications, guardian of the frontier, and superintendent of forests. They are contained in the following ślokas:—

मन्त्री पुरोहितश्चैव युवराजश्च भूपतिः ।
पञ्चमो द्वारपालश्च षष्ठोऽन्तर्वंशिकस्तथा ॥
कारागाराधिकारी च द्रव्यसञ्चयकृत् तथा ।
कृत्याकृत्येषु चार्थानां नवमो विनियोजकः ॥
प्रद्रष्टा नगर्या दक्षकार्यनिर्माणकृत् तथा ।
धर्माध्यक्षस्सभाध्यक्षो दण्डपालस्त्रिपञ्चमः ॥
षोडशो दुर्गपालश्च तथा राष्ट्रान्तपालकः ।
अटवीपालकांतानि तीर्थान्यष्टादशैव तु ॥
चारान् विचारयेत् तीर्थेष्वात्मनश्च परस्य च ।
पाषण्डादीनविज्ञातानन्योऽन्यमितरेष्वपि ॥

The Govindarājīya commentary of the Rāmāyaṇa gives a similar enumeration in prose. The three first, *i.e.*, the minister, house-priest, crown prince excepted, the 15 chief officers are the same on both sides; so that one's own three first officials should not be under the control of spies. Compare Rām. II, 72, 69, or (Grantha edition) 100, 35, 67.

[18] The 10 passions refer to women, play, hunting, drinking, dancing, singing, roaming about, music, vituperation and sleeping in day time.

स्त्री द्यूतं मृगया मद्यं नृत्यं गीतं तथाटनं ।
वाद्यनिन्दा दिवास्वापो व्यसनानि नृणां दश ॥

In the above śloka are contained the 10 weak points. Manu VII, 45-47; compare Kām. XIII, 61, and XIV, 7.

[19] According to Sītārāma's commentary the threefold power consists of मन्त्रकोशभृत्याः, or of प्रभुमन्त्रोत्साहाः (king, minister and warlike enterprize).

troops. Begin the march at the right time, being well acquainted with the 'circle of kings,'[20] with your own superiority, and the inferior condition of the enemy. Having thus strengthened your own realm, go against the enemy, try to conquer him, and having done so, grant him your protection. Let your army with its eight component parts[21] and its four corps,[22] being well led by your best generals, destroy your enemies."

Brahma having thus spoken to Pṛthu, began to teach him the Dhanurvēda. The first chapter ends here; the second begins with a description of the Dhanurvēda (II, 1–4), which is given in my monograph on the Indian weapons (pp. 9, 10). The victory-granting spell of the Dhanurvēda follows in the next five ślokas (śl. 5–9; *Weapons*, p. 10). The weapons are divided according to their nature into four classes—*mukta*, or those which are thrown; *amukta*, those which are not thrown; *muktāmukta*, those which are thrown or not thrown; and *mantramukta*, those which are thrown by spells (śl. 11–13; *Weapons*, pp. 10, 11; *Madras Journal of* 1879, pp. 176, 177). A distinction is also made between common weapons and projectiles, between counter-projectiles and some other very efficient projectile weapons (śl. 14).

Second Chapter.

Different classes of weapons.

The first class embraces twelve arms: 1, the *dhanu* (bow); 2, *iṣu* (arrow); 3, *bhiṇḍivāla* (crooked club); 4, *śakti* (spear); 5, *drughaṇa* (hatchet); 6, *tōmara* (tomahawk); 7, *nalikā* (musket); 8, *laguḍa* (club); 9, *pāśa* (lasso); 10, *cakra* (discus); 11, *danta-*

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[20] *See* Kām. VIII, 18, 24; and Weapons, p. 41.

[21] रथनागहया योधाः पत्तयः कर्मकारकाः ।
चारा दैशिकमुख्याश्च ध्वजिन्यष्टाङ्गिका मता ॥

i.e., chariots, elephants, horses, warriors, foot-soldiers, artisans, spies, and persons who know foreign countries and languages form the army.

[22] मौलमैत्रभृत्याटविकाः, veterans, allies, servants, and foresters.

kaṇṭaka (tooth-thorn); and 12, *musuṇḍi* (octagon-headed club). These weapons—among which as the seventh is mentioned the *musket*—are placed in the first foot of the Dhanurvēda.[23] For an explanation consult my monograph on the *Weapons*, pp. 11–16, and *Madras Journal*, pp. 177–182.

The second class counts twenty varieties and contains the weapons which are deposited in the second foot of the Dhanurvēda: 1, the *vajra* (thunderbolt); 2, *īlī* (handsword); 3, *paraśu* (axe); 4, *gōśīrṣa* (cow-horn spear); 5, *asidhēnu* (stiletto); 6, *lavitra* (scythe); 7, *āstara* (bumarang); 8, *kunta* (lance); 9, *sthūṇa* (anvil); 10, *prāsa* (spear); 11, *pināka* or *triśūla* (trident); 12, *gadā* (club); 13, *mudgara* (hammer); 14, *sīra* (ploughshare); 15, *musala* (pestle); 16, *paṭṭiśa* (battle-axe); 17, *mauṣṭika* (fist-sword, dagger); 18, *parigha* (battering-ram); 19, *mayūkhī* (pole); and 20, *śataghnī* (hundred-killer).[24]

Śataghnī. The word *śataghnī* does not afford us any tangible clue as to the nature of this formidable weapon. Indeed it seems to have been both a weapon of defence and of offence, a missile as well as a projectile weapon. It is compared with the club (*gadā*), which spreads destruction among the forces of the enemy either by knocking them down in hand-to-hand fight or by doing dreadful execution amongst them when hurled from afar. That the *śataghnī* was used as a missile in some way or other is apparent from many places where it occurs as such in the epics, but, on the other hand, it is equally certain that in other places it clearly denotes a projectile weapon which throws a destructive missile on the enemy. In each capacity, both as the cannon and as the shot, it deserves its name—*hundred-killer*. The use of fire as the motive power is easily accounted for if it is once admitted—which I believe has been proved beyond doubt in my monograph on the weapons of the ancient Hindus—that the ancient Hindus were

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[23] *See* II, 17, 18, and the whole of Chapter IV; and Harivaṁśa, 227–235.

[24] *See* II, 19, 20, and Chapter V. Consult my *Weapons*, pp. 16–23, and *Madras Journal*, pp. 182–189.

well acquainted with gunpowder and that they possessed firearms. Though ample evidence has been produced for proving the existence of guns and gunpowder in ancient India, still it would be of great importance if the existence of firearms could be traced to the earliest, or the Vedic period of Indian history. And this can be done. The words *śataghnī* and *sūrmī*, which are synonymous, occur in the black Yajurvēda, and the latter word in the Ṛgvēda. The earliest commentator of the Kṛṣṇayajurvēda, *Bhaṭṭabhāskara*, as well as the 400 years later *Vidyāraṇyasvāmī*—the priestly name of Sāyaṇamādhava—explain it as a blazing tube made of metal.

The sixth verse of the seventh anuvāka, of the fifth praśna in the first kāṇḍa of the Kṛṣṇayajurvēda is as follows: "This is the *sūrmī* which has a hole like an ear, with it the gods killed the Asuras by hundreds. As the sacrificing priest kindles with this sūrmī-like verse (*mantra*) the firewood, he throws also on the enemy this *śataghnī*-like mantra, which resembles the thunderbolt of Indra."

Bhaṭṭabhāskara, who lived about one thousand years ago, explains in his Taittirīyabhāṣya, which goes by the name of *Jñānayajña*, the *sūrmī* as a flaming pillar made of metal. This metallic cylinder is defined by the adjective *karṇakāvatī*, which in its turn is explained to signify *having a hole inside* and *blazing on the inside and outside*. Further on the *śataghnī* is declared to be identical with *sūrmī*. Bhaṭṭabhāskara refers to this explanation when commenting afterwards on a similar Vedic passage (Kṛṣṇayajurvēda V, 4, 7, 3).

Vidyāraṇyasvāmī's Scholia in his *Taittirīyavēdārthaprakāśa* coincide with the above explanation, having most likely borrowed it of Bhaṭṭabhāskara. He says *karṇakāvatī* means "having a hole and therefore surely blazing." Vidyāraṇyasvāmī's interpretation of this passage in the Yajurvēda is the more important, as it is also applicable to the Ṛgvēda, where (VII, 1, 3) the word *sūrmī* occurs in the

same meaning, but where the commentator is reported to have explained it merely by *flame* (*jvālayā*), which is no doubt a very insufficient interpretation, as the meaning of *sūrmī* rather points to a hollow tube.

The ear-like hole (*karṇaka*) penetrates through the cylinder in this manner

. The hole where *a* is found is called the vent, *karṇa*, and the very same expression is used in the Śukranīti (p. 194, IV, 7, 196; see *Weapons*, p. 106). The *inside and outside blazing* mentioned by Bhaṭṭabhāskara refers to the firing the gun (at *a*), and the flame appearing outside the muzzle after the discharge (at *b*).

The weight of these Vedic verses and of their commentaries can hardly be overrated, as they clearly establish the existence of ancient firearms in the earliest time of Indian history. We need hardly dilate further on this subject, which, as far as textual evidence and interpretation goes, is settled. The *śataghnī* occurs also in the epic literature as a projectile weapon lighted by fire, *e.g.*, in the Harivaṁśa (*śataghnībhiśca dīptābhis*).[25]

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[25] *See* Kṛṣṇayajurvēda, I, 5, 7, 6: एषा वै सूर्मी कर्णकावत्येतया ह स्म वै देवा असुराणां शततर्हांस्तृंहन्ति यदेतया समिधमादधाति वज्रमेवैतच्छतघ्नीं यजमानो भ्रातृव्याय प्रहरति. The *jñānayajña* of Bhaṭṭabhāskara on this verse runs as follows:— एषावा इत्यादि । ज्वलन्ती लोहमयी स्थूणा सूर्मी । गौरादित्वाद्ङीष् (Pāṇ. VI, 1, 41) । कर्णकावती अन्तस्सुषिरवती अन्तर्बहिश्च ज्वलन्तीत्यर्थः । सांहितकं दीर्घत्वं । तत्सदृशा ऋगित्यर्थः । एतयेत्यादि । असुराणां मध्ये शततर्हानेकप्रहारेण शतस्य हन्तॄन् । तृंहन्ति घ्नन्ति स्म । एतया ऋचा तृह् हिंसायां रौधादिकः । लट् स्म इति लट् (Pāṇ. III, 2, 118) तस्मादेतया ऋचा समिध-

All these last-mentioned weapons are deposited in the second foot of the Dhanurvēda.

The third class is divided into *Sōpasaṁhāra* and *Upasaṁhāra* weapons: of the former there are 44, of the latter 55 specimens;[26] all these rest in the third foot of the Dhanurvēda.

मादधानो वज्रं शतघ्नचा इन्द्रायुधसदृशी । शतघ्नीं पूर्वोक्तां सूर्मीमेव भ्रातृव्याय प्रहिणोति. Vidyāraṇyasvāmī in his *Taittirīyavēdārthaprakāśa* says: ज्वलन्ती लोहमयी स्थूणा सूर्मी सा च कर्णकावती छिद्रवती अत एव ज्वलन्तीत्यर्थः तत्समानेयमृक् । एकेन प्रहारेण शतसङ्ख्याकान् मारयन्तश्शूराश्शततर्हाः । असुराणां मध्ये तादृशान् एतयर्चा देवा हिंसन्ति । अनया समिदाधानेन शतघ्नीमेनामृचं वज्रं धृत्वा वैरिणं हन्तुं प्रहरति.

The *sūrmī* being described in the Vēda as a weapon with which the gods kill the Asuras, it is surprising that in the otherwise so excellent *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch von Böthlingk und Roth* it should have been described in part VII, p. 1172 as *ein röhrenartiges Gefäss als Leuchter dienend* (für Oel oder Talg), *i.e.*, a tubular vessel serving as a candlestick for oil or tallow, and *karṇakāvatī* as *mit Oehr und Handgriff versehen* provided with an ear and a handle. Such an interpretation gives no sense in the context, especially if the sūrmī as candlestick is likened in the same verse to the śataghnī. In extenuation of this wrong explanation it may be assumed as certain that the commentaries of Bhaṭṭabhāskara and Vidyāraṇyasvāmī were not known to the above-mentioned lexicographers. Moreover it seems that both these learned Sanskritists were unacquainted with the form of the Indian lamp (for the Hindus do not possess our hollow candlestick), which has a solid pedestal and stand on which latter is a small vase-shaped surface which contains the oil (omitting altogether the strange allusion to tallow) and the wick; the handle, if any, being above the latter.—Compare also Harivaṁśa 227, 20—

मुद्गरैः कूटपाशैश्च शूलोलूखलपर्वतैः ।
शतघ्नीभिश्च दीप्ताभिर्दण्डैरपि सुदारुणः ॥

where the flashing śataghnīs may be either understood to apply to rocket-like missiles or to guns.

It may here be appropriately remarked that the Hindus do not use metallic tubes for their rockets, having perhaps made the observation that they rise with greater difficulty. Nīlakaṇṭha explains in the Mahābhārata the śataghnīs to be guns, see Śukranīti, p. 252.

[26] *See* II, 22–28; *Weapons*, pp. 25–29, 30; and *Madras Journal*, pp. 191–195; Harivaṁśa, 22,7.

The fourth class possesses six weapons, but though these are only few, they are all-powerful and irresistible; they reside in the fourth foot of the Dhanurvēda.[27]

The enumeration of the weapons is followed by the story of the sage Dadhīci, who allowed his body to become the depository of the 32 weapons of the two first classes after the gods had been defeated in battle by the Asuras and had thrown away their weapons on their flight. Subsequently, as the gods wish to obtain again possession of their arms, a cow licks them out of the body of the sage, who, for his self-sacrifice, is transferred to heaven.[28]

Third Chapter. The third chapter contains the origin of the sword, the whole chapter being devoted to this subject.[29]

Fourth and Fifth Chapters. The fourth and fifth chapters are devoted, as we have seen, to the description of the weapons belonging to the first two classes. The fifth chapter ends with an enumeration of the terrible weapons and implements which are used in the wars during the Kaliyuga, especially are mentioned machines made of metal, stone and other materials which throw balls on the enemy, big rocks, saws, smoke-balls, burning husk-coals, hot sand, boiling oil, melting sugar-treacle, resin of the śāl-tree, pots filled with honey and poisonous serpents, and other like preparations.

With respect to the balls mentioned above some verses in the Atharvaṇavēda appear to support the existence of leaden balls. Lead is there mentioned as the metal with which the Rākṣasas are to be destroyed, and as weapons made of lead alone, or of which lead forms the principal ingredient, do hardly exist—as lead is by far too soft and does not recommend itself for being made use of in spikes, spears, &c.—the supposition that by lead *leaden balls* are meant seems very probable. The verses run as follows: Varuṇa blessed the lead; Agni is fond of the lead; Indra gave me the lead; it

[27] *See* II, 40; *Weapons*, p. 30; and *Madras Journal*, p. 196.
[28] *See* II, 43–60; *Weapons*, pp. 23, 24; and *Madras Journal*, pp. 189, 190.
[29] *See* Chapter III, *Weapons*, pp. 24, 25, and *Madras Journal*, *pp.* 190, 191.

is, O friend, the destroyer of the Rākṣasas .... If thou killest our cow, horse or servant, we shall pierce thee with lead, that thou mayest not kill weak creatures.[30]

The atrocity of the warfare is ascribed to the existence of such barbarous nations as are the Hūna, Pulinda, Śabara, Varvara, Pahlava, Śaka, Mālava, Kōṅkaṇa, Āndhra, Cōla, Pāṇḍya, Kērala, Mlēccha, Caṇḍāla, Śvapaca, Khala, Māvēllaka, Lalittha, Kirāta, and Kukkura.[31]

Sixth Chapter.

The sixth chapter treats about the army, and as this is a subject of greater interest and superior importance, I give its translation nearly in full.

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[30] *See* Atharvaṇavēda I, 16, 2 and 4 :

सीसायाध्याह वरुणः सीसायाग्निरुपावति ।
सीसं म इन्द्रः प्रायछत्तदङ्ग यातुचातनं ॥
यदि नो गां हंसि यद्यश्वं यदिपूरुषं ।
तं त्वा सीसेन विध्यामो यथा नोऽसो अवीरहा ॥

Professor *Weber* calls this song (*see* Indische Studien IV, pp. 109, 110) *Besprechung eines Amuletts von Blei.* As far as I understand the poem, it does not refer to an amulet of lead, but to lead in general. Moreover lead is not one of the metals of which amulets are made, for besides *birch bark* (bhūrjapattra) only *gold* (svarṇa), *silver* (rajata), and *copper* (tāmra) are mentioned in the Mantraśāstra as being used for this purpose. The translation of *tam tvā sīsēna vidhyāmō* (śl. IV) into "wir schlagen fort dich durch das Blei" is incorrect; *vyadh* does not mean *to repel*, but *to pierce.*

See also *Śukranīti* IV, 7, line 408 (*Weapons*, p. 107), where leaden balls are assigned to the smaller guns.

[31] *See* V, 56, 57 ; my *Weapons*, p. 33 ; *Madras Journal*, p. 199. Rāmāyaṇa I, 41 ; IV, 40 ; *Mahābhārata*, I, 6685 ; III, 1991, &c ; Harivaṁśa 229, 4756. In my monograph *On the Weapons of the ancient Hindus* I named on page 33 the above-mentioned tribes, and said incidentally in the note below "the Hindus call the modern Europeans Huns ; this expression most probably arose from the idea that the ancient Hunnish invaders came also from Europe." To this the well-known weekly journal *Nature* remarks on page 581 (21st October 1880) : "A work (Nītiprakāśikā) which mentions the Hūnas ("Huns" or Europeans) cannot be of the antiquity to which he (*Dr. Oppert*) would assign it." As the Hūnas (or Hūṇas) are an ancient people and their name is repeatedly mentioned in the most ancient Indian epics as the Mahābhārata, Rāmāyaṇa, not to quote other old works, and as I only said that the name Hūna is nowadays applied to Europeans, one can hardly believe that a journal which aims at scholarship should risk such a remark.

It contains especially valuable information about the composition of the army, the use made of its various branches as elephants, chariots, cavalry and infantry, the employment of artisans for military purposes, and an enumeration of the most necessary provisions. We find in it also discussed such subjects as the qualifications required for officers, a system of promotion according to seniority, pension-grants to faithful servants and their relicts, and other similar interesting topics.

In the opening verses (3–11) the various military arrays are enumerated; upwards of thirty are mentioned.[32] The battle-order is described in the following manner :—

Arrangement of troops.

12. A king, who ranges in battle-order the elephants in front, the chariots behind, the horses on both sides and in the rear the infantry, ought to be victorious.

13. According to the undertaking the king should send to the front the chariots, elephants, horses and infantry, or the horses, chariots, elephants and infantry, or the infantry, horses, chariots and

14. elephants, together with their attendants, having arranged them in proper order and having fixed on the right place and time.

Review of army.

15. An excellent king, who has got his troops ready for war and is intent on an expedition, should, standing in the centre, review them and then send them forward.

15½. Anxious for an engagement with the enemy, he should march towards him.

Disposition of men.

16½. He should place in the midst of the army the shield-bearers, small-swordsmen, runners and volunteers, (in fact) the strongest men and the most efficient soldiers.

War elephants.

17½. He should render fit for fighting the elephants which are five years old, and those which are ten, thirty and fifty years old, as well as those in rut.

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[32] *See Weapons*, p. 6, and *Madras Journal*, p. 172.

Tame elephants.

18. A number of tamed elephants should be kept for the roads.

Followers of king and commissariat kept behind apart.

19. A king should keep behind his army a select harem, a small rear guard, and some intimate neighbours, some suburban inhabitants, and some bankers who live in the capital;

20. chamberlains, eunuchs, the old men and young, the sick, wounded, blind, footless, maimed, and very weak persons,

21. the State coaches, which are furnished with splendid seats, officials with their attendants and war material,

Arsenal for guns.

22. the treasury, armoury for the small weapons and an arsenal for the guns, granaries, stragglers, and all the exhausted animals,[33]

23. so that he may not crowd the army; and he should ensure their protection by (guarding them with) valiant men.

What persons should be sent in front of the army.

24. He should send in front of the army very strong men, fast runners, persons who face the enemy bravely, those who do much execution amongst the enemy, spies, messengers, persons who give information by signals, and men experienced in fighting,[34]

25. and the tallest of his elephants, which carries the ensign of victory, together with his broad-chested soldiers.

The king's own retinue.

26. He should place in front for his own protection the officials who precede the king (together with their servants), the military escort (with their attendants), persons who walk immediately before the king, runners, staff-bearers and other followers,

[33] *See* Mahābhārata, Śāntiparva, Rājadharma, LXIX, śl. 53, 54, and Rāmāyaṇa II, 4, 48. The word यन्त्रागाराणि is in the commentary explained as लोहगुलिकाक्षेपकनलिकाद्यगाराणि.

[34] चैत्र is explained in the commentary as चेतुं शीलवतः. It has otherwise also the meaning of Buddhist mendicant.

27. as well as sword and armour bearers, eulogists and bards.

28. A king should place behind and near him well-bred, fleet and fiery riding and chariot horses, which are clad in mail.

Place of refuge.

29. An excellent king who fights with his enemies should guard his retreat to a fort, which a horse can reach in a day, is provided with intrenchments and walls, is made of wood, has a broad rampart, a ditch, is well stored with money, grain, and weapons;

30. is garrisoned by archers, is provided with water, full of burning husk and supplied with artisans.

When to take revenge.

31. Having appointed trustworthy and intelligent men as purveyors for all things, as superintendents of the seraglio, and as treasurers, a king should then take his revenge.

Marching.

32. An excellent king who protects his citizens and kingdom, having obtained the usual contributions from his subjects, placed his reserve (200 bows' length distant from his army), arranged the two wings of his army,

Sentinels, rounds.

33. and distributed his watchmen and sentinels should before marching despatch many road-makers and artisans,

Artisans and others to accompany the army.

34. workmen who give the finishing touch, superintendents of the work, diggers, carpenters, surveyors, (tree) planters, bridge-makers,[35]

35. those who know the nature of the country, and hunters who are well acquainted with forests, and spies who find out the weak point in the position of the hostile army.

What places to avoid while marching.

36. Having despatched all these men, he should lead his army, being on the look out for cover, and avoiding burning-grounds and the shrines of gods,

37. the hermitages of great sages, holy fords and sanctuaries, he should not tread on burning husk ashes, hair and skulls.

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[35] *See* Rāmāyaṇa II, 80.

38. The king should for his welfare force an entrance for his army into a pleasant, not brackish, prosperous, healthy and well-watered country.

39. He should drive away the detachments of the enemy, and also single individuals who roam about, and surrounded by his body-guard he should visit all the parts of his army.

40. Examining himself the tents of his allied kings, he should send his troops everywhere in order to frustrate the efforts of the enemy.

Encampments.

41. He should make war upon his enemies without anxiety after having directed the necessary protective arrangements, distributed his spies, and erected at separate places excellent encampments for the soldiers,

42. which (encampments) should be provided with ample water and wood, be difficult of access, be furnished with food which needs mastication and other food which may be swallowed without it, and filled with money and grain;

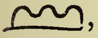
43. having collected in a place near to the camp many clever, good artisans and expert doctors who receive handsome pay, and who are provided with all necessaries,

44. as well as clothes, ornaments and much money, as suitable presents for the soldiers.

45. When in war a king should assign vehicles (*i.e.*, horses, chariots, &c.) to soldiers who have lost their own, and weapons to those who have lost them.

Implements of armament and tools.

46. He should have ready all the necessaries for the march, as saddles, bridle-bits, stirrups and other such things, chowries, helmets, armours and housings,

47. Bowstrings, bows, armour, weapons, triangular bows , abundant fodder, big machines, iron arrows, tomahawks and axes,

48. ropes, spikes, spike-hammers, iron horse-shoes, plane-irons, hoes, wood-chisels, and also knives,

49. wheels, cramp-irons, saws, leather water-bags, baskets, shovels, needles fit for sewing purposes,

50. bulls for carrying burdens, mules, far-going camels, and medicine for elephants, horses and men,

51. various musical instruments, the agreeable beverage Kairātaka, cotton of the silk-cotton tree, together with flint and iron,[36]

52. wooden vessels, iron and copper basins, brass implements, stone-cutters, chisels, grindstones, balances,

53. awls, boots, breeches, as well as whips, hounds, bamboo sticks, traps and fish-nets,

54. spittoons, perfumed oil, yellow orpiment, and all such like things.

Soldiers be drilled for general duty.

55. Of those of his soldiers who serve on the carriages, he should make expert riders, and the horsemen he should turn into able chariot-soldiers.

56. The king should make these two (the horsemen and chariot-soldiers) capable of fighting from the back of elephants, all of them he should transform into foot-soldiers, and the latter he should use as chariot-soldiers, horsemen and elephant-soldiers.

57. The king should make all his soldiers expert in charioteering, elephant-riding, in guarding the carriage wheels and in other difficult things.

58. The king should instruct his troops well in those thirty-two movements of war, which are acknowledged by polity.

Use of elephants.

59. Experts declare that the work of elephants consists in marching in front, entering into forest forts, making new and clearing existing roads.

60. destroying fear-exciting appliances, breaking walls, carrying treasure, allaying the fear (of timid, and) conciliating quarrelsome elephants,

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[36] This is a description of the ordinary Indian tinder-box commonly called *śakimuki* by natives and *Rāmasvāmī* by Europeans; *see* Weapons, p. 81.

61. blockading in a fort the hostile infantry and cavalry, carrying loads and breaking trees.

62. Men describe as the function of chariots, to go in the second line, protect the elephants, fill up the gaps (in the line of battle), keep the enemy at a distance; Use of chariots.

63. blockade the enemy, stand at the head of the battle-array and make a frightening noise.

64. They define as the duty of the cavalry, to obtain a knowledge of the woods, country and roads, to protect the troops of the allies and the forage, to disperse (over the country in order to get grass and fuel), to frighten the enemy by neighing, Use of cavalry.

65. to follow near, and to go far away, to perform rapid movements (as reconnoitring) and to pillage the hostile troops.

66. The object of the infantry they describe to consist in clearing wells and fords, making roads, camps and the royal tent, performing sundry unpaid (menial) duties, Use of infantry.

67. protecting the granaries, arsenals and treasuries, and making the entrenchments for the army.

68. A country which has no trees, big rocks, has no anthills thickets and thorns, is suitable for walking on and not very uneven, is regarded convenient for infantry. Country suitable for infantry.

69. A country without mire, without stumps, without stones, which can withstand the treading of the hoofs of horses, is without cracks and is even, is esteemed a good country for horses. Country suitable for cavalry.

70. A country which has no cornfields, no pitfalls, no trees and thickets, can bear the pressure of wheels and hoofs and is pleasant, is praised as fit for carriages. Country suitable for chariots.

71. A country which has trees and excellent creepers, which can be crushed (for eating), is without mire, or caverns, whose rocks can easily be mounted and which is uneven, is one fit for elephants. Country suitable for elephants.

Qualifications for commandership-in-chief.

72. As commander-in-chief[37] should be elected a person of good family, one who has conquered his passions, who has been tried in the past, is clever, handsome, a favorite with the king,

73. who watches the forehead of his master, who guesses the intentions (of others), is expert in leading troops, is courageous, and conciliates his soldiers on the battle-field.

74. The commanders of akṣauhiṇīs should be separately selected according to the same qualifications, they should be under the commander-in-chief and in his charge.

75. Separate commanders should also be placed over a patti, sēnāmukha, gulma, gaṇa, vāhinī, pṛtanā, camū,

76. and an anīkinī, such men as are well acquainted with the training *of soldiers*; according as is necessary, commanders should be placed over two or three combined army corps.

Daily watch-words.

77. Different watch-words should be given out in his army every day, the officers should know them, but the soldiers and other persons ought not to know them.

Police.

78. Special persons who wear his badge, should go about to proclaim his orders; what is undertaken to defeat the machinations of the enemy they (the experts) describe as defensive measures.

Seniority.

79. Whoever, in whatever branch (of the service), has been first appointed to a command, should be secured in his seniority, and his juniors should be under his orders.

80. The king having made eight (different kinds of) commanders (beginning with a patti), who are subject to the orders of the leaders of an akṣauhiṇī, the soldiers should also be ranged according to seniority.

Punishment of transgressors.

81. Except those who are on duty the king should kill all those who walk about the camp at night, who give a wrong watch-word, transgressing the royal orders.

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[37] *See* Rāmayaṇa II, 72. 64 (Grantha edition II, 100. 14).

82. Three very clever generals should be appointed to each army, one chief in command, one next to him and a third one, who (the two latter) obey the orders of the senior. Appointment of three generals.

83. He should make daily changes in the local distribution of his army, for if it were always comfortably located at one place it may become disloyal to the king. Change of cantonments.

84. The king should follow the instruction of such a commander of the army who, as his minister, is able to bear the burden of the administration of the kingdom and is devoted to his interests. Minister.

85. The king who wishes to conquer should stand in the place (of danger) coveted by heroes, he should fight the enemies with his body-guard, who have sworn never to leave their posts, even if the army is in confusion. King to stand in the place of danger.

86. If his army flies he should stop with the army corps (muṇḍānīka).[38] Having consecrated the arms (and new ensigns) and marched out, he should defeat the enemies. Reserve corps without ensigns.

87. If an army corps, composed of troops which have neither the royal umbrella nor chowry, is placed at a distance of two gavyūti (2 Krośa), it is called a muṇḍānīka.

88. If an extraordinarily meritorious deed has been performed, the king, while applauding and showing his appreciation, should specially present to the soldiers a vessel full of money. Reward of meritorious deeds.

89. The pleased king should give hundred thousand varvas to him who kills a (hostile) king, half of that sum when a crown prince is killed, the same also on the slaughter of a commander-in-chief,[39] Scale of rewards.

90. on the putting to death of a leader of an akṣauhiṇī they say he should give half of the former sum, on the murder of a councillor or minister half of that,

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[38] *See* the next ślōka.

[39] *See* Kāmandakīya XIX, 18, and Weapons, p. 7.

91. to him who kills the commander of an anīkinī, camū, pṛtanā, vāhinī, gaṇa, gulma, sēnāmukha and patti,

92. having respectively deducted one-half, he should give the remaining halves; if a soldier receives this (reward) in excess of his pay, he will perform daring feats.

93. He who has killed a general of an akṣauhiṇī, or the second or third in command of it, or also a leader of a camū or of a pṛtanā,

94. or a commander of an anīkinī, obtains accordingly a present from the king; in this manner a reward is to be fixed for the slaughter of any officer in a still lower position.

95. A king should, after having with special honour noticed a soldier, give him five varvas when he has taken and delivered over to him a soldier who, weapons in hand, was running away.

96. A king should give three varvas to him who informs him that he has taken one of his soldiers, who, for the sake of his life, was running away without his arms.

97. He who informs the king that he has (killed) an elephant and an elephant-rider, and cleft the skull of a mahārathika, is worthy to receive 2,000 varvas.

98. He who has killed a distinguished cavalier or also the commander of the infantry deserves to receive 1,000 varvas from the king.

99. He who brings away from the hostile army an elephant or a chariot receives from the king a reward of 500 varvas.

Troops to be fed while on march.

100. Food is to be given to the soldiers when marching though not when stationary; but this is given besides the pay, knowing the fatigues on the road.

101. The king should besides the pay give a reward for daring acts in order to obtain men (for his service).

Extra expenses of soldiers.

102. The soldiers should out of their income pay for their clothes and washermen's bills as well as for medicines when sick.

103. The king should divide the booty taken from the country of the enemy: half of it should be given to the soldiers, and the other half he should take himself. Division of booty.

104. A soldier who should take a horse or a chariot with its appurtenances, should, being praised by the king, obtain the fourth part of its value.

105. The king should give to his soldiers for the worn out weapons and for the things taken from them in war by the enemy, new ones in their stead without reducing the pay. Soldiers to be re-armed at the king's expense.

106. To the relations of those who have for his sake been killed in battle by the enemy, and also to those who are worn out in his service, he should give pensions. Pensions.

107. To the families of those who are dead and to those who are living, but have in the past served the king very faithfully, he should give half of their former pay.

108. The young soldiers, who while facing the enemy in battle become cripples and unfit for service of the king, should receive half of their former pay.

109. To him, who in order to undo the machinations of the enemies informs the king of their secret plans, is promised double wages. Double wages.

110. The king should assign a large amount of money to him who sows dissension in the hostile army, who scales the hostile forts, and who increases his kingdom.

111. The successful king who has thus employed his soldiers, conquered his enemies, achieved his objects, acquired great renown and power, worthy of being praised by the best of kings obtains glory.

The seventh chapter begins with an enumeration of the strength of the nine different divisions of an army, *i.e.*, *patti*, *sēnāmukha*, *gulma*, *gaṇa*, *vāhinī*, *pṛtanā*, *camū*, *anīkinī* and *akṣauhiṇī*. The first 31 ślōkas are devoted to this subject, which is also treated by me in my monograph "On the Weapons used by the ancient Hindus."[40] Seventh Chapter.

[40] Pp. 4–6 and *Madras Journal*, pp. 170–172.

Banners. The 32nd ślōka recommends the advisability of providing the different corps with banners, in order to distinguish between the two fighting armies.

The 11 following Distichs (śl. 33–43) give information as to the pay of the various officers.

Pay of officers. All the soldiers, from the private to the commander-in-chief, received their pay regularly every month. The crown prince, who was generally the next in command to the king, received every month 5,000 varvas or gold coins; the commander-in-chief drew 4,000 varvas; the atiratha, the first charioteer, who was usually a royal prince, received 3,000 varvas; the mahāratha 2,000 varvas; the rathika and the gajayodhi 1,000 varvas each; the ardharatha 500 varvas; the ēkaratha (commander of a chariot) and the leader of an elephant got each 300 niṣkas. The general commanding all the cavalry obtained 3,000 niṣkas; the general in command of the whole infantry received 2,000 niṣkas. An officer commanding 1,000 men of infantry got 500 niṣkas; an officer who led the same number of troopers received 1,000 niṣkas; an officer who had 100 men under his command, and who must ride on a horse, drew only 7 varvas, while a private got 5 suvarṇas.[41]

The following double verses (44–50) give an account of the reward of the brave soldier who falls in battle, and sums up the persons with whom one should not fight. Among these the most remarkable is the 45th ślōka, which says that "in a combat no one should strike his enemy with concealed weapons, nor with poisoned arrows, nor with machines kindled by fire, nor also with various stratagems." The commentator explains the Sanskrit term "agnyujvalair yantraiḥ" by "nalikaiḥ," guns.[42] The significance of this ślōka proving

Particular inhibition against fire-arms.

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[41] *See Weapons*, pp. 7, 8; *Madras Journal*, 173 and 174.

[42] *See Weapons*, pp. 73 and 74, and *Madras Journal*, pp. 239 and 240 Harivaṁśa, 225.

the existence of fire-arms in India can hardly be exaggerated, but after the Vedic verses, which we have given before, and which contain the clearest evidence of the existence of fire-arms, no more need be added.[43]

The 51st ślōka discusses the favorable time in the year when expeditions may be undertaken; the month Mārgaśīrṣa[44] is specially recommended; besides this Phālguna and Caitra are mentioned. Then follow some double verses, which contain the names of the already known army corps[45] and give some general advice as to the leading of troops and combating the enemy. Favorable time for warfare.

One should whisper mischief to the mischief-makers in the hostile camp, one should disunite the disunited, and one should gain the covetous by bribery. A king should summarily punish such soldiers when found among his troops; he should keep his own secrets, but obtain a knowledge of the secret plans of his enemy. A king should in time of war put to death those men who oppose his orders, the soldiers who run away and do not keep their weapons, avaricious generals who fight treacherously, men who do not face the enemy, who fight amongst each other, who deceitfully tell the enemy the designs of the king, who give way to the enemy and enjoy the king's misfortune. If an ambassador commits even a very serious offence he should not be killed. This is a noteworthy precept, though it has not always been observed. The seventh chapter finishes with the declaration that the king who releases the innocent and who punishes severely the evil-doers, will through his righteousness have performed a sacrifice which is equal to 100 sacrifices. General advice.

The eighth chapter is entirely devoted to the general duties a king has to perform in the government and administration of his kingdom. It contains many lines which are also Eighth Chapter.

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[43] *See* pages 10—14.

[44] *See* Manu VII, 82.

[45] *See* Manu VII, 190 ff.

found in Manu, especially in the seventh book, which treats at large of the duties incumbent on a king.[46]

A few specimens of grammatical irregularities and of archaic forms are given below, in order to substantiate the statement that the Nītiprakāśikā is old in style and language.[47]

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[46] Compare Manu VII, 56 and preceding, with Nītiprakāśikā 3; M. VII, 7—9 with N. VIII, 4—6; M. VII, 37*b* with N. 11*b*; VII, 40*b* with 12*b*; VII, 44*b* with 13*a*; VIII, 20 and 21 with 16 and 17; VII, 54 with 18; VII, 63 with 21; VII, 25 and Mahābhārata Śāntiparva XVI, 10 with 30; Hitōpadēśa I, p. 59, lines 9, 10 (Calcutta edition) and Mahābhārata Śāntiparva LVII, 40 with 44; VII, 116 and 117 with 46 and 47; VII, 99 and Hitōpadēśa II, p. 65, line 4 with 61; VII, 147 with 68; VII, 148 and 149 with 70 and 71; Rāmāyaṇa Sundarakāṇḍa, 41, 1 with 72; M. VII, 163*b*—68 with 80—85; VII, 216*a* with 88*a*; VII, 217*b* with 89*a*; VII, 221*a* with 89*b*; VII, 225*b* with 91*b*, &c., &c.

[47] (*a*) Disregard to the rules of Sandhi: *see* p. 74, VIII, line 47, विज्ञाय आयत्यभ्युदयं; p. 78, VIII, 155 त्रिधा अन्यतरः; p. 56, VI, 16 द्विधा इति; p. 30, I, 27 ख्यातौ अन्यः; p. 48, IV, 88 पत्तिवर्गौ तेन; p. 56, VI, 13 वज्रो शर्कटकः; p. 50, V, 4 तेजोपबृंहितं— p. 37, II, 47 विद्याविद्येऽस्त्रसंज्ञिके; p. 47, IV, 58 गतीभगो;

(*b*) Irregularities in the declension, formation of nouns, &c.: *see* p. 32, I, 72 सौवर्णाम्; p. 76, VIII, 111 पूर्वराज्ञां; p. 68, VII, 47 and 53 एकविंशत्सहस्राणि;

(*c*) Irregularities in the conjugation of verbs: [1] Parasmaipada used instead of Ātmanēpada: p. 76, VIII, 104 अपेक्षेत्; p. 44, III, 80 लभन्ति; p. 64, VI, 208 लभेत्; [2] Ātmanēpada used instead of Parasmaipada; p. 39, II, 103 व्रजे; p. 76, VIII, 94 आचक्षेत; p. 42, III, 31 उत्पतमाने;

(*d*) p. 32, I, 81 मज्जयानं; p. 46, IV, 22 and 23 योज्य; p. 45, IV, 21 नाम्य;

(*e*) Metrical irregularities: II, 62, (p. 37); V, 55, (p. 52) and VIII, 79 (p. 75) contain 17 syllables.

श्रीः

नी ति प्र का शि का

प्रथमोऽध्यायः

श्रीमद्गजाननं वाणीं नत्वा ब्रह्मादिसद्गुरून् ।
नीतिप्रकाशिका सेयं तन्यते ह्यादरान्मया ॥ १ ॥
श्रीमत्तक्षशिलायां तु सूपविष्टं वरासने ।
जनमेजयभूपालं द्रष्टुकामो महातपाः ॥(२)॥
वैशंपायननामा तु महर्षिस्संशितव्रतः ।
अभ्यागात् सहितश्शिष्यैर्व्यासशिष्यो महामुनिः ॥ ३ ॥
तमायांतमृषिं श्रुत्वा जनमेजयभूपतिः ।
प्रत्युज्जगाम सहसा सह मंत्रिपुरोहितैः ॥ ४ ॥
पाद्यमर्घ्यं तथा गां च मधुपर्कं विधाय च ।
तस्मै प्रोवाच कुशलं प्रहृष्टेनान्तरात्मना ॥(५)॥
धन्योऽस्म्यनुगृहीतोऽस्मि यन्मे दर्शनमागतः ।
तारिताः पितरस्सर्वे पालितोऽहं त्वया मुने ॥ ६ ॥
इत्युक्तवन्तं राजानं प्रयुयोजाशिषश्शुभाः ।
धर्मे ते रमतां बुद्धिरित्युक्त्वागात् सभां ततः ॥ ७ ॥
उपविष्टे मुनौ तस्मिन् भद्रपीठे नृपोत्तमः ।
परिवृत्यासनाभ्याशे कृतांजलिरुपाविशत् ॥ ८ ॥

कथान्तरमथासाद्य जनमेजयभूपतिः ।
प्रणम्य तमृषिं भक्त्या कृतांजलिरभाषत ॥ ९ ॥
राजधर्माः कृतास्सर्वे भारतीयास्त्वयोदिताः ।
हृदि मे संशयः कश्चित् तं भवाञ्छेत्तुमर्हति ॥ १० ॥
इतश्चानुदिनं धर्मस्सत्यं शौचं क्षमा दया ।
कालेन कलिना ब्रह्मन् क्षरत्यायुर्बलं स्मृतिः ॥ ११ ॥
वित्तमेव कलौ नृणां जन्माचारगुणोदयः ।
धर्मन्यायव्यवस्थायां कारणं बलमेव हि ॥ १२ ॥
दांपत्येऽभिरुचिर्हेतुर्मायैव व्यावहारिके ।
स्त्रीपुंस्त्वे कौशलरतिर्विप्रत्वे सूत्रमेव च ॥(१३)॥
लिंगमेवाश्रमख्यातौ अन्योऽन्यापत्तिकारणं ।
अवृत्त्या न्यायदौर्बल्यं पाण्डित्ये चापलं वचः ॥(१४)॥
असाध्यतैव साधुत्वे स्नानमेव प्रसाधनं ।
स्वीकार एव चोद्वाहे लावण्ये केशधारणं ॥(१५)॥
उदरंभरिता स्वार्थः यशोऽर्थे धर्मसेवनं ।
दाक्ष्यं कुटुंबभरणे सत्यत्वे धार्ष्ट्यमेव हि ॥ १६ ॥
शूद्रप्रायेषु वर्णेषु छागप्रायासु धेनुषु ।
पाषण्डप्रचुरे धर्मे दस्युप्रायेषु राजसु ॥(१७)॥
कथं तेषामियं नीतिर्विस्तृता वशमेष्यति ।
धनुर्वेदविवेकश्च शस्त्रास्त्रज्ञानमेव च ॥ १८ ॥
इति तद्वचनं श्रुत्वा हृदयज्ञो महानृषिः ।
अर्थोपहितया वाचा राजानमिदमब्रवीत् ॥ १९ ॥
इङ्गितं ते मया ज्ञातं सूक्ष्मनीतिप्रबोधने ।
लब्धानुयोगः प्रब्रूयाच्छास्त्रं नो चेदधी भवेत् ॥ २० ॥

ब्रह्मा महेश्वरस्स्कन्दश्चेन्द्रः प्राचेतसो मनुः ।
बृहस्पतिश्च शुक्रश्च भारद्वाजो महातपाः ॥(२१)॥
वेदव्यासश्च भगवान् तथा गौरशिरा मुनिः ।
एते हि राजशास्त्राणां प्रणेतारः परंतपाः ॥ २२ ॥
लक्षाध्यायां जगौ ब्रह्मा राजशास्त्रे महामतिः ।
पञ्चाशच्च सहस्राणि रुद्रस्संक्षिप्य चाब्रवीत् ॥(२३)॥
पञ्चविंशत्सहस्राणि स्कन्दस्संक्षिप्य चावदत् ।
दशाध्यायसहस्राणि द्विसहस्रे च वासवः ॥(२४)॥
प्राचेतसमनुश्चापि षट्सहस्राण्यथाब्रवीत् ।
त्रीण्यध्यायसहस्राणि बृहस्पतिरुवाच ह ॥(२५)॥
काव्यस्तु तत् समालोच्य चक्रेऽध्यायसहस्रकं ।
सप्ताध्यायशतं शास्त्रं भारद्वाजस्तथाभणत् ॥(२६)॥
मुनिर्गौरशिराश्चापि पञ्चाध्यायशतं जगौ ।
वेदव्यासस्तु भगवांस्तत् संक्षिप्य महामतिः ॥(२७)॥
शतत्रयाध्यायवतीं नीतिं चक्रे महामते ।
संक्षिप्तमायुर्विज्ञाय मर्त्यानां बुद्धिदोषतः ॥ २८ ॥
तल्लक्षणोद्देशमात्रं मया तव निवेद्यते ।
सावधानमना भूत्वा राजशास्त्रं निबोध मे ॥ २९ ॥
पृथुर्वैन्यः प्रजा रक्षन् मृत्युं जित्वा पुरा किल ।
क्षतत्राणात् प्रजास्तं तु क्षत्रियं चाब्रुवंस्तथा ॥ ३० ॥
नामापि तस्य राजेति प्रजारागादजायत ।
अकृष्टपच्या पृथिवी चासीद्वैन्यस्य कामधुक् ॥ ३१ ॥
आसन् हिरण्मया दर्भास्सुखस्पर्शा मनोहराः ।
तेषां चीरैस्सुसंवीताः प्रजास्तेष्वेव शेरते ॥ ३२ ॥

प्रविभागो न राष्ट्राणां पुराणां चाभवत् तदा ।
यत्र यत्र प्रजा आसंस्तत्र दोग्ध्री मही सुखं ॥ ३३ ॥
तेन संस्तंभिता ह्यापस्समुद्रमभियास्यता ।
पर्वताश्च ददुर्मार्गं ध्वजभङ्गश्च नाभवत् ॥ ३४ ॥
षष्टिं नागसहस्राणि षष्टिं नगशतानि च ।
सौवर्णान्यकरोद्राजा ब्राह्मणेभ्यश्च तान्यदात् ॥ ३५ ॥
इमां च पृथिवीं सर्वां मणिरत्नविभूषितां ।
सौवर्णामकरोद्राजा ब्राह्मणेभ्यश्च तां ददौ ॥ ३६ ॥
एतानन्यान् गुणान् बुध्वा तस्य राज्ञश्चतुर्मुखः ।
आत्मानं दर्शयामास वरदोऽस्मीति चाब्रवीत् ॥ ३७ ॥
ब्रह्माणं च ततो दृष्ट्वा श्रुत्वा चैव स तद्वचः ।
पृथुः परमसंहृष्टो वव्रे तं वरमुत्तमं ॥ ३८ ॥
चतुष्पाच्च धनुर्वेदस्सांगोपाङ्गरहस्यकः ।
शस्त्रास्त्रभूषितो मह्यं प्रदेयस्तु त्वया भवेत् ॥ ३९ ॥
आत्मानं परमं मन्ये लोकेभ्यो लोकपूजित ।
यस्य मे दर्शनं प्राप्तो भवान् वेदमयो निधिः ॥ ४० ॥
इत्युक्त्वानन्ददुग्धाब्धौ मज्जयानं पृथुं तदा ।
प्रोज्जहार जगत्स्रष्टा वाचाथ ह्लवरूपया ॥ ४१ ॥
दिष्ट्या ते बुद्धिरुत्पन्ना धनुर्वेदपरिग्रहे ।
अहमप्येतदेव त्वां वक्तुकाम इहागतः ॥ ४२ ॥
असिः पूर्वं मया सृष्टो दुष्टनिग्रहकारणात् ।
भवादृशसमीपस्थो लोकांछिक्षञ्चरत्यसौ ॥ ४३ ॥
धनुराद्यायुधव्यक्तौ त्वमेवादिस्स्मृतो मया ।
तस्माच्छस्त्राणि चास्त्राणि ददानि तव पुत्रक ॥ ४४ ॥

भृशाश्वो मानसः पुत्रो द्वे जाये तस्य संमते ।
जया च सुप्रभा चैव दक्षकन्ये महामती ॥ ४५ ॥
जया लब्धवरा मत्तो शस्त्राण्यस्त्राण्यसूत वै ।
पञ्चाशदपरा चापि तावत्पुत्रानजीजनत् ॥(४६)॥
संहारान् नाम दुर्द्धर्षान् दुराक्रामान् बलीयसः ।
मन्त्रदैवतसंयोगाच्छस्त्राण्यस्त्रत्वमाप्नुवन् ॥ ४७ ॥
मत्सकाशाद्धनुर्वेदं प्रगृह्य जयतां वर ।
सर्वाः पालय धर्मेण प्रजाः पुत्रानिवौरसान् ॥ ४८ ॥
सन्धिविग्रहतत्त्वज्ञस्त्वनुमानविभागवित् ।
षाड्गुण्यविधियुक्तश्च सर्वशास्त्रविशारदः ॥(४९)॥
वृतो राजगुणैष्षड्भिस्सप्तोपायांस्तदाचर ।
बलाबलेन सम्यक् त्वं समीक्षस्व चतुर्दश ॥ ५० ॥
अथ स्वात्मानमन्वीक्ष्य परांश्च रिपुसूदन ।
तथा सन्धाय कर्माणि सेवस्वाष्टौ सदा नृप ॥ ५१ ॥
भवानष्टादशान्येषु स्वपक्षे दश पंच च ।
त्रिभिस्त्रिभिरभिज्ञातैर्वेत्ति तीर्थानि चारकैः ॥ ५२ ॥
तथा व्यसनिनं शत्रुं निशम्य नृपसत्तम ।
अभियाहि जवेनैव समीक्ष्य त्रिविधं बलं ॥ ५३ ॥
धृत्वा यात्रामारभस्व प्राप्तकालमरिन्दम ।
पार्ष्णिमूलं च विज्ञाय व्यवसायं पराजयं ॥ ५४ ॥
स्वमूलं तु दृढं कृत्वा परान् याहि विशां पते ।
विक्रमस्व विजेतुं तं जित्वा च परिपालय ॥ ५५ ॥
दृढमष्टांगसंयुक्ता चतुर्विधबला चमूः ।
बलमुख्यैस्सुनीता ते द्विषतां प्रतिवर्धनी ॥ ५६ ॥

इत्येवमनुशास्यैनं ब्रह्मा लोकगुरुः पुनः ।
धनुर्वेदं ग्राहयितुं वक्तुमेवोपचक्रमे ॥ ९७ ॥

इति श्रीमन्नीतिशास्त्रे नीतिप्रकाशिकायां संगतिप्रदर्शन-
पूर्वकराजधर्मोपदेशो नाम प्रथमोऽध्यायः

द्वितीयोऽध्यायः

चतुष्पाच्च धनुर्वेदो रक्तवर्णश्चतुर्मुखः ।
अष्टबाहुस्त्रिणेत्रश्च सांख्यायनसगोत्रवान् ॥ १ ॥
वज्रं खड्गो धनुश्चक्रं दक्षबाहुचतुष्टये ।
शतघ्नी च गदाशूलपट्टिशा वामबाहुषु ॥(२)॥
प्रयोगकोटीरयुतो नीत्यंगो मंत्रकंचुकः ।
उपसंहारहृदयो शस्त्रास्त्रोभयकुण्डलः ॥(३)॥
अनेकवल्गिताकारभूषणः पिंगलेक्षणः ।
जयमालापरिवृतो वृषारूढस्स उच्यते ॥ ४ ॥
एतन्मंत्रं प्रवक्ष्यामि वैरिजालनिकृन्तनं ।
आत्मसैन्यस्वपक्षाणामात्मनश्चाभिरक्षकं ॥ ५ ॥
आदौ प्रणवमुच्चार्य नम इत्यक्षरे ततः ।
वतेति भगपूर्वं धं धनुर्वेदाय चोच्चरेत् ॥(६)॥
मां रक्ष रक्षेत्युच्चार्य मम शत्रूनथो वदेत् ।
भक्षयेति द्विरुच्चार्य हुं फट् स्वाहेत्यथोच्चरेत् ॥ ७ ॥
अहमेव ऋषिश्चास्य गायत्री छन्द उच्यते ।
महेश्वरो देवतास्य विनियोगोऽरिनिग्रहे ॥ ८ ॥
द्वात्रिंशद्वर्णकमनुं वर्णसंख्यासहस्रकैः ।
जपित्वा सिद्धिमाप्नोति रिपूंश्चाप्यधितिष्ठति ॥ ९ ॥
सत्यं सत्यं पुनस्सत्यं त्रिर्वदामीह वेनज ।
धनुर्वेदस्य विवृतिमथाख्यास्ये निबोध मे ॥ १० ॥
मुक्तं चैव ह्यमुक्तं च मुक्तामुक्तमतः परं ।

मंत्रमुक्तं च चत्वारि धनुर्वेदपदानि वै ॥ ११ ॥
मुक्तं बाणादि विज्ञेयं खड्गादिकममुक्तकं ।
सोपसंहारमस्त्रं तु मुक्तामुक्तमुदाहृतं ॥ १२ ॥
उपसंहाररहितं मंत्रमुक्तमिहोच्यते ।
चतुर्भिरेभिः पादैस्तु धनुर्वेदः प्रकाशते ॥ १३ ॥
शस्त्रमस्त्रं च प्रत्यस्त्रं परमास्त्रमितीव च ।
चातुर्विध्यं धनुर्वेदे केचिदाहुर्धनुर्विदः ॥ १४ ॥
आदानं चैव संधानं विमोक्षस्संहृतिस्तथा ।
धनुर्वेदश्चतुर्धेति वदन्तीति परे जगुः ॥ १५ ॥
तत्राद्यं मतमालम्ब्य मुक्तामुक्तायुधान्यहं ।
द्वात्रिंशद्भेदतो वच्मि तत्रायं विस्तृतिक्रमः ॥ १६ ॥
धनुरिषुर्भिण्डिवालश्शक्तिद्रुघणतोमराः ।
नलिका लगुडः पाशश्चक्रं वै दंतकंटकः ॥(१७)॥
मुसुंडीति द्वादशैते मुक्तभेदाः प्रकीर्तिताः ।
धनुर्वेदस्याद्यपादस्तवायं कथितो नृप ॥ १८ ॥
वज्रमीली च परशुर्गोशीर्षमसिधेनुका ।
लवित्रमास्तरः कुंतस्स्थूणः प्रासः पिनाककः ॥(१९)॥
गदा मुद्गरसीराश्च मुसलः पट्टिशं तथा ।
मौष्टिकं परिघश्चैव मयूखी च शतघ्निका ॥(२०)॥
अमुक्ता विंशतिरिमे द्वितीयः पाद उच्यते ।
मुक्तामुक्तानि शस्त्राणि द्वात्रिंशद्गणितानि ते ॥ २१ ॥
दंडचक्रं धर्मचक्रं कालचक्रं तथैव च ।
ऐन्द्रं चक्रं शूलवतं ब्रह्मशीर्षं च मोदकी ॥(२२)॥
शिखरी धर्मपाशं च तथा वरुणपाशकं ।

पैनाकास्त्रं च वायव्यं शुष्कार्द्रे शिखरास्त्रकं ॥(२३)॥
क्रौञ्चास्त्रं हयशीर्षं च विद्याविद्येऽस्त्रसंज्ञिके ।
गांधर्वास्त्रं नन्दनास्त्रं वर्षणं शोषणं तथा ॥(२४)॥
प्रस्वापनप्रशमने संतापनविलापने ।
मदनं मानवास्त्रं च नामनं तामसं तथा ॥(२५)॥
संवर्तं मौसलं सत्यं सौरं मायास्त्रमेव च ।
त्वाष्ट्रमस्त्रं च सोमास्त्रं संहारं मानसं तथा ॥(२६)॥
नागास्त्रं गारुडास्त्रं च शैवेषीकेऽस्त्रसंज्ञिके ।
चतुश्चत्वारि चैतानि सोपसंहारकाणि वै ॥ २७ ॥
वक्ष्यामि चोपसंहारान् क्रमप्राप्तान् निबोध मे ।
यान्ज्ञात्वा वैरिमुक्तानि चास्त्राणि शमयिष्यसि ॥ २८ ॥
सत्यवान् सत्यकीर्तिश्च रभसो दृष्ट एव च ।
प्रतिहारतरश्चैवाप्यवाङ्मुखपराङ्मुखौ ॥(२९)॥
दृढनाभोऽलक्ष्यलक्ष्यावाविलश्च सुनाभकः ।
दशाक्षश्शतवक्त्रश्च दशशीर्षशतोदरौ ॥(३०)॥
धर्मनाभो महानाभो दुंधुनाभस्तु नाभकः ।
ज्योतिष्विमलकुलश्चैव नैरास्यकुशनावुभौ* ॥(३१)॥
योगंधरस्सनिद्रश्च दैत्यः प्रमथनस्तथा ।
सार्चिर्माली धृतिर्माली वृत्तिमान् रुचिरस्तथा ॥(३२)॥
पित्र्यस्सौमनसश्चैव विधूतमकरौ तथा ।
करवीरो धनरती धान्यं वै कामरूपकः ॥(३३)॥
जृंभका वरणाश्चैव मोहः कामरुचिस्तथा ।
वरुणस्सर्वदमनस्संधानस्सर्वनाभकः ॥(३४)॥
कंकालास्त्रं मौसलास्त्रं कापालास्त्रं च कंकणं ।

पैशाचास्त्रं चेति पंचाप्यसुरास्त्राणि भूपते ॥(३५)॥
सत्यवान् सर्वदमनः कामरूपस्तथैव च ।
योगंधरोऽप्यलक्ष्यश्चाप्यसुरास्त्रविघातकाः ॥(३६)॥
चतुश्चत्वारिंशदेते पञ्चान्येऽन्यविमर्दनाः ।
मेलयित्वा च पंचाशदेकोना ह्यस्त्रनामकाः ॥ ३७ ॥
सर्वमोचननामा तु सुप्रभातनयो महान् ।
मुक्तामुक्ताखिलशमो मद्वरात् प्रथितः परः ॥ ३८ ॥
अयं तृतीयपादस्स्याद्धनुर्वेदस्य भूपते ।
मंत्रमुक्तं चापि वक्ष्ये सावधानमनाश्शृणु ॥ ३९ ॥
विष्णुचक्रं वज्रमस्त्रं ब्रह्मास्त्रं कालपाशकं ।
नारायणं पाशुपतं नाशाम्यमितरास्त्रकैः ॥(४०)॥
स्वान्यसंहारकाभावान्मंत्रमुक्तान्यमूनि षट् ।
अयं चतुर्थपादस्स्याद्धनुर्वेदस्य संमतः ॥ ४१ ॥
शृणु चाप्यपरं भूयो विशेषं वच्मि तेऽनघ ।
पुरा दैवासुरे युद्धे निर्जिता दानवैस्सुराः ॥ ४२ ॥
धनुर्वेदाविशेषज्ञाः पलायनपरायणाः ।
दधीचिमृषिमालोक्य तस्मै दत्वायुधानि ते ॥(४३)॥
मन्दरं पर्वतश्रेष्ठं वस्तुकामा द्रुतं ययुः ।
ते तत्रोषुर्बहूनब्दानिन्द्रमुख्या भयात् सुराः ॥ ४४ ॥
दधीचिरपि तान् हृत्वा दैतेयेभ्यो ह्यरक्षत ।
शल्यभूतानि तस्यर्षेरायुधानि तपोबलात् ॥ ४५ ॥
अथ मां शरणं प्राप्ता देवास्सेन्द्रपुरोगमाः ।
पराजिता विलीनाश्च मंदरे भयविह्वलाः ॥ ४६ ॥
अथाददां धनुर्वेदं देवेभ्यस्सरहस्यकं ।

चतुष्पादयुतं सांगं तेषामनुजिघृक्षया ॥ ४७ ॥
अथ लब्धवरा मत्तो योद्धुं दैतेयसत्तमान् ।
दधीचिं प्रस्थिता दृष्ट्वा तान्ययाचन्त संगताः ॥ ४८ ॥
आयुधापेक्षिणां श्रुत्वा वचनमृषिसत्तमः ।
शल्यभूतानि संचिंत्य कृपार्द्रो तानथाब्रवीत् ॥ ४९ ॥
साधनान्यस्थिभूतानि मम देहे दिवौकसः ।
गोजिह्वया लेहयित्वा विशसित्वायुधानि वः ॥(५०)॥
मदंगात् तान्युपादाय जयध्वं युधि शात्रवान् ।
मम चैवं वधो दृष्टो नात्र कार्या विचारणा ॥ ५१ ॥
देवोपयोगिनं देहमिमं कृत्वा दिवं व्रजे ।
यूयं स्वकार्यं संसाद्य मम लोकान् प्रयच्छत ॥ ५२ ॥
ते तस्य वचनं श्रुत्वा तथा चक्रुर्दिवौकसः ।
आत्मकार्यगरीयस्त्वात् तत् कार्यं प्रतिपेदिरे ॥ ५३ ॥
गोमुखं ब्रह्महत्यापि विवेश नृपसत्तम ।
देवसन्तोषणाल्लोकाञ्छाश्वतान् स ऋषिर्ययौ ॥ ५४ ॥
तदाप्रभृति लोका वै न पश्यन्तीह गोमुखं ।
प्रातः पुरुषशार्दूल तद्दोषगतमानसाः ॥ ५५ ॥
एकत्रिंशच्च कंकालास्सा चैका च कशेरुका ।
द्वात्रिंशन्निर्गता देहात् तस्यर्षेस्सुमहात्मनः ॥ ५६ ॥
यद्यदंगाश्रितं चास्थि यद्यद्रूपमगान्मुनेः ।
तत्तदस्थ्युद्गतं शस्त्रं तत्तदाकारकं ह्यभूत् ॥ ५७ ॥
तीक्ष्णस्वभावाद्गर्वाच्च दधीचिमुपताप्य तु ।
तद्रक्षितान्यायुधानि तेन शल्यीकृतानि वै ॥(५८)॥
शस्त्राणि लोके द्वात्रिंशत् प्रचरिष्यन्ति पार्थिव ।

कशेरुकोद्गतं वज्रमिन्द्रहस्तगतं विना ॥ ५९ ॥
धनुर्वेदस्य माहात्म्यान्निर्जिता दानवास्सुरैः ।
भूलोके त्वावधिं कृत्वा धनुरादि चरिष्यति ॥ ६० ॥
धनुर्वेदविदं त्वां तु समाश्रित्य नृपोत्तमाः ।
नीतिमन्तो भविष्यन्ति मत्प्रसादान्न संशयः ॥ ६१ ॥
इत्येतत् कथितं वत्स माहात्म्यं वेदसंमितं ।
शस्त्रोत्पत्तिश्च कथिता किं भूयश्श्रोतुमिच्छसि ॥ ६२ ॥
धनुर्वेदस्योपदेशमिमं योऽधिगमिष्यति ।
त्वत्कृते मत्कृतं सोऽथ सर्वान् कामानवाप्नुयात् ॥ ६३ ॥
पारीक्षित महाबुद्धिः पृथुश्श्रुत्वा विधेर्वचः ।
हृदयस्थं ततो भावं द्रष्टुं समुपचक्रमे ॥ ६४ ॥

इति श्रीमन्नीतिशास्त्रे नीतिप्रकाशिकायां धनुर्वेद-
विवेककथनं नाम द्वितीयोऽध्यायः

तृतीयोऽध्यायः

लोकनाथ नमस्तेऽस्तु सर्वाश्चर्याश्रय प्रभो ।
उत्पादितो मया खड्गः पूर्वमित्युदितं त्वया ॥ १ ॥
खड्गः कदा हि जनितस्त्वया केनेह हेतुना ।
कस्त्वत्सकाशात् प्रथममग्रहीदसिमुत्तमं ॥ २ ॥
परंपरा तु का तस्य भूलोकप्रापणी विभो ।
पूर्वाचार्यं च खड्गस्य मम ब्रूहि पितामह ॥ ३ ॥
स तद्वचस्समाकर्ण्य प्रोवाचेदं पितामहः ।
यत्र येन निमित्तेन यथासौ जनितः पुरा ॥(४)॥
वेनपुत्र प्रवक्ष्यामि खड्गसंभवमुत्तमं ।
सावधानमनाश्श्रुत्वा सर्वत्र जयमाप्स्यसि ॥ ५ ॥
विशीर्णे कार्मुके राजन् प्रक्षीणेषु च वाजिषु ।
खड्गेन शक्यते युद्धे साध्वात्मा परिरक्षितुं ॥ ६ ॥
शरासनधरांश्चैव गदाशक्तिधरांस्तथा ।
एकः खड्गधरो वीरस्समर्थः प्रतिबाधितुं ॥ ७ ॥
आयुधेभ्यो वरः खड्गस्तस्माल्लोकेषु विश्रुतः ।
मया सृष्टः पुरा राजन् कस्मिंश्चित् कारणांतरे ॥ ८ ॥
हिरण्यकशिपुश्चैव हिरण्याक्षो विरोचनः ।
शंबरो विप्रचित्तिश्च प्रह्लादो नमुचिर्बलिः ॥(९)॥
एतेचान्ये च बहवस्सगणा दैत्यदानवाः ।
धर्मसेतुमतिक्रम्य देवैर्योद्धुमुपाक्रमन् ॥ १० ॥
तदा हिमवतश्शृंगे नानाधातुविराजिते ।

शतयोजनविस्तारे पुष्पितद्रुमकानने ॥(११)॥
यज्ञं ह्यकरवं तत्र सर्वलोकार्थसिद्धये ।
ततो वर्षसहस्रान्ते त्वद्भुतं समजायत ॥ १२ ॥
नभोऽग्निज्वालयोद्भास्य द्योतयज्जगतीतलं ।
विकीर्याग्निं तथा भूतमुत्थितं चाग्निकुण्डतः ॥(१३)॥
नीलोत्पलसवर्णं तत् तीक्ष्णदंष्ट्रं कृशोदरं ।
सुप्रांशु दुर्धर्षतरं ज्वालमालासमाकुलं ॥(१४)॥
रक्ताक्षं क्रूरनिर्ह्रादं सर्वप्राणिभयंकरं ।
स्वतेजसातिरौद्रेण द्रष्टुर्दृष्टिविलोपकं ॥ १५ ॥
तस्मिन्नुत्पतमाने च प्रचचाल वसुंधरा ।
महोर्मिकलिलावर्तश्चुक्षुभे स महोदधिः ॥ १६ ॥
पेतुरुल्का दिवो घोराश्शारवाश्च मुमुचुर्द्रुमाः ।
तद्दृष्ट्वा सर्वभूतानि प्राव्यधंत मुहुर्मुहुः ॥ १७ ॥
महर्षिसुरगंधर्वानब्रुवं भयविह्वलान् ।
मयैवं चिन्तितं भूतमसिर्नामैष वीर्यवान् ॥(१८)॥
रक्षणार्थाय लोकस्य वधाय च सुरद्विषां ।
ततस्तद्रूपमुत्सृज्य बभौ निस्त्रिंश एव सः ॥(१९)॥
विमलस्तीक्ष्णधारश्च कालान्तक इवोद्यतः ।
पञ्चाशदंगुल्युत्सेधश्चतुरंगुलिविस्तृतः ॥ २० ॥
ततस्त्वृषभकेतोस्स हस्ते दत्तो मया ह्यसिः ।
राक्षसान्तकरस्तीक्ष्णस्तदाधर्मनिवारकः ॥ २१ ॥
तमुद्धृत्य महादेवस्सर्वशत्रुभयंकरं ।
त्रिकूटं चर्म चोद्यम्य सविद्युतमिवांबुदं ॥ २२ ॥
चचार विविधान् मार्गान् महाबलपराक्रमः ।

छिन्दन् भिन्दन् रुजन् कृन्तन् दारयन् पोथयन्नरीन् ॥(२३)॥
द्वात्रिंशत् करणानि स्युर्यानि खड्गप्रयोधने ।
चित्रशीघ्रपदं तानि दैत्यसंघे ह्यदर्शयत् ॥ २४ ॥
भ्रान्तमुद्भ्रान्तमाविद्धमाप्लुतं विप्लुतं सृतं ।
संयान्तं समुदीर्णं च निग्रहप्रग्रहौ तथा ॥(२५)॥
पादावकर्षसन्धाने शिरोभुजपरिभ्रमौ ।
पाशपादविबन्धाश्च भूम्युद्भ्रमणके तथा ॥(२६)॥
गतप्रत्यागताक्षेपाः पातनोत्थानके प्लुतं ।
लाघवं सौष्ठवं शोभा स्थिरत्वं दृढमुष्टिता ॥(२७)॥
तिर्यगूर्ध्वप्रचरणे द्वात्रिंशत् करणान्यहो ।
विजित्य दानवान् संख्ये हृष्टो रुद्रो बभूव ह ॥ २८ ॥
ततस्तु भगवान् रुद्रो विष्णुं दृष्ट्वा समीपगं ।
सत्कृत्य धर्मगोप्तारमसिं तस्मै ददौ मुदा ॥(२९)॥
विष्णुर्मरीचये प्रादान्मरीचिर्भगवानपि ।
महर्षिभ्यो ददौ खड्गमृषभो वासवाय च ॥(३०)॥
महेन्द्रो लोकपालेभ्यो लोकपाला ददुश्च तं ।
मनवे सूर्यपुत्राय ततस्ते तमथाब्रुवन् ॥ ३१ ॥
धर्मसेतुमतिक्रान्तान् लोके धर्मार्थकारणात् ।
असिना धर्मगर्भेण शिक्षयस्व प्रजापते ॥ ३२ ॥
स तथेति प्रतिश्रुत्य गृहीत्वा खड्गमुत्तमं ।
लोके प्रवर्तयामास राजधारामुखेन वै ॥ ३३ ॥
त्वमप्येतमसिं मत्तो गृहाण नृपसत्तम ।
पालयस्व च धर्मेण प्रजाः पुत्रानिवौरसान् ॥ ३४ ॥
कृत्तिकास्तस्य नक्षत्रमसेरग्निश्च देवता ।

रोहिणी गोत्रमप्यस्य रुद्रस्तस्याधिदैवतं ॥ ३५ ॥
असेरष्टौ हि नामानि रहस्यानि निबोध मे ।
असिर्विशसनः खड्गस्तीक्ष्णधर्मा दुरासदः ॥(३६)॥
श्रीगर्भो विजयश्चैव धर्मपालस्तथैव च ।
अग्रचः प्रहरणानां च रुद्रेणैवं समीरितः ॥ ३७ ॥
असेश्च पूजा कर्तव्या सदा युद्धविशारदैः ।
जयं कीर्तिं लभंते ते येऽसिं संपूजयन्ति वै ॥ ३८ ॥
कथेयं कथिता तुभ्यं खड्गमाहात्म्यसंयुता ।
न कस्यचिन्मया प्रोक्ता किं भूयश्श्रोतुमिच्छसि ॥ ३९ ॥
जिगीषवोऽरीन् राजानस्त्वभिषेणनकौतुकाः ।
ये पठेयुरिमं जय्यं जयं युद्धे लभंति ते ॥ ४० ॥

इति श्रीमन्नीतिशास्त्रे नीतिप्रकाशिकायां खड्गो-
त्पत्तिकथनं नाम तृतीयोऽध्यायः

चतुर्थोऽध्यायः

स्वयंभोर्वचनं श्रुत्वा पृथुः परमहर्षितः ।
प्रश्रयावनतो भूत्वा भूयः पप्रच्छ चाब्जजं ॥ १ ॥
द्वात्रिंशदायुधानीति मुक्तामुक्तोदितानि मे ।
तेषां स्वरूपं वर्णं च प्रयोगान् वक्तुमर्हसि ॥ २ ॥
इति पृष्टस्तु पृथुना भगवान् भक्तवत्सलः ।
तत् सर्वं कथयामास तस्य विस्तारयन् यशः ॥ ३ ॥
यस्य देवस्य यद्रूपं यो वर्णो यश्च यादृशः ।
आयुधस्याथ तन्नाम्नस्तानवेहि महामते ॥ ४ ॥
पूर्वं वक्ष्यामि मुक्तानां संस्थानानि निबोध मे ।
विदित्वा कारयन्नेवमायुधानां प्रकल्पनं ॥ ५ ॥
धनुस्स्वरूपमाख्यास्ये प्रथमं नृप सत्तम ।
तत्प्रमाणं च संस्थानं तस्याभ्यासक्रमं तथा ॥(६)॥
तत्रावान्तरभेदांश्च शराभ्यासक्रमं तथा ।
लस्तकग्रहणं चापि लक्ष्यभेदं चतुर्विधं ॥ ७ ॥
पृथुग्रीवं सूक्ष्मशिरस्तनुमध्यं सुपृष्ठवत् ।
चतुष्किष्कुप्रांशुदेहं त्रिणतं दीर्घजिह्वकं ॥(८)॥
दंष्ट्राकरालवदनं रक्ताभं घर्घरस्वनं ।
आंत्रमालापरिक्षिप्तं लेलिहानं च सृक्वणी ॥(९)॥
जयायां च कृशाश्वाद्यज्जातं वै लोकरक्षणे ।
तद्ध्यात्वा मनसा सम्यग्गुरुं नत्वा विधानतः ॥(१०)॥
धनुर्वेदविधानेन नाम्य वामकरेण तत् ।

दक्षिणेन ज्यया योज्य पृष्ठे मध्ये प्रगृह्य तत् ॥(११)॥
वामांगुष्ठं तदुदरे पृष्ठे तु चतुरंगुलीः ।
पुंखमध्ये ज्यया योज्य स्वांगुलीविवरेण तु ॥(१२)॥
आकर्णं तु समाकृष्य दृष्टिं लक्ष्ये निवेश्य च ।
लक्ष्यादन्यदपश्यंस्तु कृतपुंखः प्रयोगवित् ॥(१३)॥
यदा मुंचेच्छरं विध्येत् कृतहस्तस्तदोच्यते ।
एवं बाणाः प्रयोक्तव्या ह्यात्मा रक्ष्यः प्रयत्नतः ॥ १४ ॥
अविचाल्यं च सूक्ष्मं च सुकुमारमथो गुरु ।
चातुर्विध्यं च लक्ष्यस्य धनुर्वेदविदो विदुः ॥(१५)॥
भूभृद्भेदश्चाविचाल्यं सूक्ष्मं गुंजादिभेदनं ।
कुक्कुटांडोदकुंभानां भेदनं सुकुमारकं ॥(१६)॥
रक्षोगजादिदेहानां पातनं गुरु चोच्यते ।
एवं च लक्ष्यविवृतिर्विज्ञेया नीतिमत्तरैः ॥ १७ ॥
लक्ष्यस्य प्रतिसंधानमाकर्षणविकर्षणे ।
पर्याकर्षानुकर्षौ च मण्डलीकरणं तथा ॥(१८)॥
पूरणं स्थारणं चैव धूननं भ्रामणं तथा ।
आसन्नदूरपातौ च पृष्ठमध्यमपातने ॥(१९)॥
एतानि वल्गितान्याहुश्चतुर्दश धनुर्विदः ।
धनुर्भेदान् प्रवक्ष्यामि तत्तत्कार्यानुसारतः ॥ २० ॥
शार्ङ्गिकं त्रिणतं प्रोक्तं वैणवं सर्वनामितं ।
वैतस्तिकधनुश्शास्त्रं वैणवं तद्धि हस्तकं ॥ २१ ॥
उपलोत्क्षेपकं चापं वैणवं तद्विरज्जुकं ।
त्रिहस्तोत्सेधसहितं द्व्यंगुलीविस्तृतं तु तत् ॥ २२ ॥
बद्धगोधांगुलित्राणः पृष्ठबद्धेषुधिस्सदा ।

योग्यां कुर्यादन्यथा स्यादपराद्धपृषत्ककः ॥ २३ ॥
प्रत्यालीढकमालीढं तथा समपदं स्मृतं ।
विशालं मंडलं चेति पञ्च धानुष्कवृत्तयः ॥ २४ ॥
गोधोपासंगकवचशिरस्त्राणपरीकराः ।
गलपट्टिसंग्रहश्च रथिनस्साधनानि वै ॥ २५ ॥
प्रदक्षिणं च शैघ्र्यं चाप्यप्रदक्षिणमेव च ।
गतं प्रत्यागतं चैव मंडलं चाप्यवस्थितिः ॥(२६)॥
मिश्रणं स्फोटनं वीधी रथमार्गास्स्मृता दश ।
धनुर्विद्यां विदित्वैवं निर्दयस्तरणो भवेत् ॥ २७ ॥
इषुर्नीलबृहद्देहो द्विहस्तोत्सेधसंयुतः ।
परिध्या चाञ्जलिमितो नल्वमात्रगतिस्तु सः ॥ २८ ॥
भ्रामणं क्षेपणं चेति द्वे गती स्थूलसन्नते ।
इमे गतीभगो ज्ञात्वा युध्वारीन् विजयेद्युधि ॥ २९ ॥
भिण्डिवालस्तु वक्रांगो नम्रशीर्षो बृहच्छिराः ।
हस्तमात्रोत्सेधयुक्तः करसंमितमण्डलः ॥ ३० ॥
त्रिभ्रामणं विसर्गश्च वामपादपुरस्सरं ।
पादघाताद्रिपुहणो धार्यः पादातमण्डलैः ॥ ३१ ॥
शक्तिर्हस्तद्वयोत्सेधा तिर्यग्गतिरनाकुला ।
तीक्ष्णजिह्वोग्रनखरा घण्टानादभयंकरी ॥(३२)॥
व्यादितास्यातिनीला च शत्रुशोणितरंजिता ।
आन्त्रमालापरिक्षिप्ता सिंहास्या घोरदर्शना ॥(३३)॥
बृहत्त्सरुर्दूरगमा पर्वतेन्द्रविदारिणी ।
भुजद्वयप्रेरणीया युद्धे जयविधायिनी ॥ ३४ ॥
तोलनं भ्रामणं चैव वल्गनं नामनं तथा ।

मोचनं भेदनं चेति षण्मार्गाश्शक्तिसंश्रिताः ॥ ३५ ॥
द्रुघणस्त्वायसांगस्स्याद्वक्रग्रीवो बृहच्छिराः ।
पंचाशदंगुल्युत्सेधो मुष्टिसंमितमण्डलः ॥ ३६ ॥
उन्नामनं प्रपातश्च स्फोटनं दारणं तथा ।
चत्वार्येतानि द्रुघणे वल्गितानि श्रितानि वै ॥ ३७ ॥
तोमरः काष्ठकायस्स्याल्लोहशीर्षस्सुगुच्छवान् ।
हस्तत्रयोन्नतांगश्च रक्तवर्णस्त्ववक्रगः ॥ ३८ ॥
उद्धानं विनिवृत्तिश्च वेधनं चेति तत्त्रिकं ।
वल्गितं शस्त्रतत्त्वज्ञाः कथयंति नराधिपाः ॥ ३९ ॥
नलिका ऋजुदेहा स्यात् तन्वंगी मध्यरन्ध्रिका ।
मर्मच्छेदकरी नीला द्रौणिचापशरैरिणी ॥ ४० ॥
ग्रहणं ध्मापनं चैव स्यूतं चेति गतित्रयं ।
तामाश्रितं विदित्वा तु जेतासन्नान् रिपून् युधि ॥ ४१ ॥
लगुडस्सूक्ष्मपादस्स्यात् पृथ्वंसस्स्थूलशीर्षकः ।
लोहबद्धाग्रभागश्च ह्रस्वदेहस्सुपीवरः ॥(४२)॥
दंतकायो दृढांगश्च तथा हस्तद्वयोन्नतः ।
उत्थानं पतनं चैव पेषणं पोथनं तथा ॥(४३)॥
चतस्रो गतयस्तस्य पञ्चमी नेह विद्यते ।
दृढकायः पत्तिवर्गो तेन युध्येत शत्रुभिः ॥ ४४ ॥
पाशस्सुसूक्ष्मावयवो लोहधातुस्त्रिकोणवान् ।
प्रादेशपरिधिस्सीसगुलिकाभरणांचितः ॥ ४५ ॥
प्रसारणं वेष्टनं च कर्तनं चेति ते त्रयः ।
योगाः पाशाश्रिता लोके पाशाः क्षुद्रसमाश्रिताः ॥ ४६ ॥
चक्रं तु कुण्डलाकारमन्ते स्वश्रसमन्वितं ।

नीलीसलिलवर्णं तत् प्रादेशद्वयमण्डलं ॥ ४७ ॥
ग्रंथनं भ्रामणं चैव क्षेपणं परिकर्तनं ।
दलनं चेति पंचैव गतयश्चक्रसंश्रिताः ॥ ४८ ॥
दन्तकंटकनामा तु लोहकंटकदेहवान् ।
अग्रे पृथुस्सूक्ष्मपुच्छश्चांगारसनिभाकृतिः ॥(४९)॥
बाहून्नतस्सुत्सरुश्च दंडकायोग्रलोचनः ।
पातनं ग्रन्थनं चेति द्वे गती दन्तकंटके ॥ ५० ॥
बृसुण्डी तु बृहद्ग्रन्थिर्बृहद्देहस्सुसत्सरुः ।
बाहुत्रयसमुत्सेधः कृष्णसर्पोग्रवर्णवान् ॥ ५१ ॥
यापनं घूर्णनं चेति द्वे गती तत्समाश्रिते ।
मुक्ता ह्येते समाख्याता नृपामुक्तानथो शृणु ॥ ५२ ॥

इति श्रीमन्नीतिशास्त्रे नीतिप्रकाशिकायां मुक्तायुधनिरूपणं
नाम चतुर्थोऽध्यायः

पञ्चमोऽध्यायः

अमुक्तप्रथमं वज्रं वक्ष्यामि तव तच्छृणु ।
अप्रमेयबलं वज्रं कामरूपधरं च तत् ॥(१)॥
दधीचिपृष्ठास्थिजन्यं सर्वतेजःप्रशामकं ।
वृत्रासुरनिपातार्थं दैवतेजोपबृंहितं ॥(२)॥
कोटिसूर्यप्रतीकाशं प्रलयानलसन्निभं ।
योजनोत्सेधदंष्ट्राभिर्जिह्वया चातिघोरया ॥(३)॥
कालरात्रिनिकाशं तच्छतपर्वसमावृतं ।
पञ्चयोजनविस्तारमुन्नतं दशयोजनं ॥(४)॥
असिमण्डलसंवीतं परितस्तीक्ष्णकोटिमत् ।
तटिद्गौरं च पृथुना त्सरुणा च विराजितं ॥ ५ ॥
चालनं धूननं चैव छेदनं भेदनं तथा ।
वल्गितानि च चत्वारि सदा वज्रं श्रितानि वै ॥ ६ ॥
ईली हस्तद्वयोत्सेधा करत्ररहितत्सरुः ।
श्यामा भुग्नाग्रफलका पंचांगुलिसुविस्तृता ॥ ७ ॥
संपातं समुदीर्णं च निग्रहप्रग्रहौ तथा ।
इलीमेतानि चत्वारि वल्गितानि श्रितानि वै ॥ ८ ॥
परशुस्सूक्ष्मयष्टिस्स्याद्विशालास्यः पुरोमुखः ।
अर्धचंद्राग्रकोटिस्तु मलिनाङ्गस्स्फुरन्मुखः । ॥(९)॥
त्सरुपादस्सशिखरो बाहुमात्रोन्नताकृतिः ।
पातनं छेदनं चेति गुणौ परशुमाश्रितौ ॥ १० ॥
गोशीर्षं गोशिरःप्रख्यं प्रसारितपदद्वयं ।

अधस्ताद्दारुयन्त्वाढ्यमूर्ध्वायःफलकाचितं ॥(११)॥
नीललोहितवर्णं तत् त्रिरश्रि च सुसत्त्सरु ।
षोडशांगुल्युन्नतं च तीक्ष्णाग्रं पृथुमध्यकं ॥(१२)॥
सत्कृत्य मनवे दत्तं महेन्द्रेण समुद्रिकं ।
प्रभुत्वसूचके लोके राज्ञां गोशीर्षमुद्रिके ॥ १३ ॥
मुष्टिग्रहः परिक्षेपः परिधिः परिकुन्तनं ।
चत्वार्येतानि गोशीर्षे वल्गितानि प्रचक्षते ॥ १४ ॥
असिधेनुस्समाख्याता हस्तौन्नत्यप्रमाणतः ।
अतलत्रत्सरुयुता श्यामा कोटित्रयाश्रिता ॥(१५)॥
अंगुलिद्वयविस्तीर्णा ह्यासन्नरिपुघातिनी ।
मेखलाग्रथिनी सा तु प्रोच्यते खड्गपुत्रिका ॥ १६ ॥
मुष्ट्यग्रग्रहणं चैव पाटनं कुंतनं तथा ।
वल्गितत्रयवत्येषा सदा धार्या नृपोत्तमैः ॥ १७ ॥
लवित्रं भुग्नकायं स्यात् पृष्ठे गुरु पुरश्शितं ।
श्यामं पंचांगुलिव्यामं सार्धहस्तसमुन्नतं ॥(१८)॥
त्सरुणा गुरुणा नद्धं महिषादिनिकर्तनं ।
बाहुद्वयोद्यमक्षेपौ लवित्रे वल्गिते मते ॥ १९ ॥
आस्तरो ग्रंथिपादस्स्याद्दीर्घमौलिर्बृहत्करः ।
भुग्नहस्तोदरशिरश्श्यामवर्णो द्विहस्तकः ॥ २० ॥
भ्रामणं कर्षणं चैव त्रोटनं तत् त्रिवल्गितं ।
ज्ञात्वा शत्रून् रणे हन्याद्धार्यस्सादिपदातिकैः ॥ २१ ॥
कुन्तस्त्वयोमयांगस्स्यात् तीक्ष्णशृङ्गष्षडश्रिमान् ।
पंचहस्तसमुत्सेधो वृत्तपादो भयंकरः ॥ २२ ॥
उड्डीनमवडीनं च निडीनं भूमिलीनकं ।

तिर्यग्लीनं निखातं च षण्मार्गाः कुन्तमाश्रिताः ॥ २३ ॥
स्थूणस्तु रक्तदेहस्स्यात् समीपदृढपर्वकः ।
पुंप्रमाण ऋजुस्तस्मिन् भ्रमणं·पातनं द्वयं ॥ २४ ॥
प्रासस्तु सप्तहस्तस्स्यादौन्नत्येन तु वैणवः ।
लोहशीर्षस्तीक्ष्णपादः कौशेयस्तबकांचितः ॥ २५ ॥
आकर्षश्च विकर्षश्च धूननं वेधनं तथा ।
चतस्र एता गतयो रक्तप्रासं समाश्रिताः ॥ २६ ॥
पिनाकस्तु त्रिशीर्षस्स्यात् सिताग्रः क्रूरलोचनः ।
कांस्यकायो लोहशीर्षश्चतुर्हस्तप्रमाणवान् ॥(२७)॥
ऋक्षरोमस्तबकझल्लिवलयग्रीवदेहवान् * ।
धूननं प्रोतनं चेति त्रिशूलं द्वे श्रिते गती ॥ २८ ॥
गदा शैक्यायसमयी शतारपृथुशीर्षका ।
शंकुप्रावरणा घोरा चतुर्हस्तसमुन्नता ॥(२९)॥
रथाक्षमात्रकाया च किरीटांचितमस्तका ।
सुवर्णमेखलागुप्ता गजपर्वतभेदिनी ॥ ३० ॥
मण्डलानि विचित्राणि गतप्रत्यागतानि च ।
अस्त्रयन्त्राणि चित्राणि स्थानानि विविधानि च ॥(३१)॥
परिमोक्षं प्रहाराणां वर्जनं परिधावनं ।
अभिद्रवणमाक्षेपमवस्थानं सविग्रहं ॥(३२)॥
परावृत्तं सन्निवृत्तमवप्लुतमुपप्लुतं ।
दक्षिणं मण्डलं चैव सव्यं मण्डलमेव च ॥(३३)॥
आविद्धं च प्रविद्धं च स्फोटनं ज्वालनं तथा ।
उपन्यस्तमपन्यस्तं गदामार्गाश्च विंशतिः ॥ ३४ ॥
मुद्गरस्सूक्ष्मपादस्स्याद्धीनशीर्षस्त्रिहस्तवान् ।

मधुवर्णः पृथुस्कंधश्चाष्टभारगुरुश्च सः ॥(३५)॥
सत्सरुर्वर्तुलो नीलः परिध्या करसंमितः ।
भ्रमणं पातनं चेति द्विविधं मुद्गरे श्रितं ॥ ३६ ॥
सीरो द्विवक्रो विशिखो लोहपादमुखः कृषन् ।
पुंप्रमाणस्निग्धवर्णस्त्वाकर्षविनिपातवान् ॥ ३७ ॥
मुसलस्त्वक्षिशीर्षाभ्यां करैः पादैर्विवर्जितः ।
मूले चान्तेऽतिसंबन्धः पातनं पोथनं द्वयं ॥ ३८ ॥
पट्टिशः पुंप्रमाणस्स्याद्विधारस्तीक्ष्णशृङ्गकः ।
हस्तत्राणसमायुक्तमुष्टिः खड्गसहोदरः ॥ ३९ ॥
मौष्टिकं सुत्सरु ज्ञेयं प्रादेशोन्नति भूषितं ।
शिताग्रमुन्नतग्रीवं पृथूदरासितं तथा ॥ ४० ॥
मण्डलानि विचित्राणि स्थानानि विविधानि च ।
गोमूत्रकाणि चित्राणि गतप्रत्यागतानि च ॥(४१)॥
तिरश्चीनगतान्येव तथा वक्रगतानि च ।
परिमोक्षं प्रहाराणां वर्जनं परिधावनं ॥(४२)॥
अभिद्रवणमाप्लावमधस्स्थानं सविग्रहं ।
परावृत्तमपावृत्तमुपद्रुतमपद्रुतं ॥(४३)॥
उपन्यस्तमपन्यस्तमागतं स्फालनं तथा ।
एतानि वल्गितान्याहुर्मौष्टिके नृपसत्तम ॥ ४४ ॥
परिघो वर्तुलाकारस्तालमात्रस्सुतारवः ।
बलैकसाध्यसंपातस्तस्मिञ्ज्ञेयो विचक्षणैः ॥ ४५ ॥
मयूखी कृतयष्टिस्स्यान्मुष्टियुक्ता नरोन्नता ।
किंकिणीसंवृता चित्रा फलिकासहचारिणी ॥ ४६ ॥
आघातं च प्रतीघातं विघातं परिमोचनं ।

अभिद्रवणमित्येते मयूखीं पञ्च संश्रिताः ॥ ४७ ॥
शतघ्नी कंटकयुता कालायसमयी दृढा ।
मुद्गराभा चतुर्हस्ता वर्तुला त्सरुणा युता ॥(४८)॥
गदावल्गितवत्येषा मयेति कथिता तव ।
अमून्यमुक्तायुधानि विंशतिर्नृपसत्तम ॥ ४९ ॥
मुक्तामुक्तपदोक्तानि द्वात्रिंशदिति निर्णयः ।
ब्रह्मणा निर्मितः खड्गः पृथक् ते परिकीर्तितः ॥ ५० ॥
एतानि विकृतिं यान्ति युगपर्यायतो नृप ।
देहदार्ढ्यानुसारेण तथा बुद्ध्यनुसारतः ॥ ५१ ॥
यंत्राणि लोहसीसानां गुलिकाक्षेपकाणि च ।
तथा चोपलयंत्राणि कृत्रिमाण्यपराणि च ॥(५२)॥
कूटयुद्धसहायानि भविष्यंति कलौ नृप ।
तप्ततैलं सर्जरसो गुडलालोग्रवालुका ॥(५३)॥
मधुसाशीविषघटाश्शीलकानि बृहच्छिलाः ।
क्रकचा धूमगुलिकास्तुषांगारादिकं तथा ॥(५४)॥
अधर्मवृद्ध्या चैतानि भविष्यंत्युत्तरोत्तरं ।
साधनानि महीपाल कूटयुद्धाभिकांक्षिणां ॥ ५५ ॥
हूणाः पुलिंदाश्शबरा बर्बराः पह्लवाश्शकाः ।
मालवाः कोंकणा ह्यान्ध्राश्चोलाः पाण्ड्यास्सकेरलाः ॥(५६)॥
म्लेच्छा गोयोनयश्चान्ये चण्डालाश्श्वपचाः खलाः ।
मावेल्लका ललित्थाश्च किराताः कुक्कुरास्तथा ॥(५७)॥
पापा ह्येते कथं धर्मं वेत्स्यन्ति च वियोनयः ।
सांकर्यदोषनिरता भविष्यन्त्यधमे युगे ॥ ५८ ॥
इत्येतत् कथितं वत्स मया लोकहितैषिणे ।

तुभ्यं शुश्रूषवे धर्मान् किं भूयः कथयाम्यहं ॥ ९९ ॥

इति श्रीमन्नीतिशास्त्रे नीतिप्रकाशिकायां अमुक्तायुध-
निरूपणं नाम पञ्चमोऽध्यायः

षष्ठोऽध्यायः

अथ व्यूहान् प्रवक्ष्यामि शत्रुसैन्यप्रमर्दनान् ।
बलांगासंकुलार्थाय शत्रुसंमोहनाय च ॥ १ ॥
स्वशक्त्युपचयं ज्ञात्वा रिपुव्यसनमेव च ।
शत्रोस्त्रिगुणसैन्येन व्यूह्य सेनामरिं व्रजेत् ॥ २ ॥
दंडो भोगोऽसंहतश्च मंडलव्यूह एव च ।
व्यूहाश्चत्वार एवैते तेषु भेदान् ब्रवीम्यहं ॥ ३ ॥
प्रदरो दृढकस्सत्यश्चापभूस्त्वक्षिरेव च ।
सुप्रतिष्ठोऽप्रतिष्ठश्च श्येनो विजयसंजयौ ॥(४)॥
विशालो विजयस्सूची स्थूणोऽकर्णश्चमूमुखः ।
सुखास्यो विजयश्चेति दंडस्सप्तदशात्मकः ॥ ५ ॥
गोमूत्रिका हंसिका च संचारी शकटस्तथा ।
एवं करपतन्तीति भोगभेदास्तु पंच वै ॥ ६ ॥
अर्धचन्द्रकटद्धारो वज्रो शर्कटकस्तथा ।
शृंगी च काकपादी च गोधिकेत्यपरस्स्मृतः ॥(७)॥
असंहतष्षड्विधस्स्यादित्याहुर्व्यूहकोविदाः ।
सर्वभद्रो दुर्जयश्च मंडलोऽपि द्विधा इति ॥ ८ ॥
वाराही मकरव्यूहो गारुडः क्रौञ्च एव च ।
पद्माद्याश्चांगवैकल्यादेतेभ्यस्ते पृथक् स्मृताः ॥ ९ ॥
रक्षोदेवमनुष्याणां बुद्धिवैचित्र्यनिर्मिताः ।
व्यूहास्सहस्रशो राजन् इति ज्ञेया मनीषिभिः ॥ १० ॥
उरः कक्षौ च पक्षौ च मध्यं पृष्ठः प्रतिग्रहः ।

कोटी च व्यूहशास्त्रज्ञैस्सप्तांगो व्यूह उच्यते ॥ ११ ॥
अग्रे नागान् रथान् पश्चात् पार्श्वयोस्तुरगान् नृपः ।
पदातीन् पृष्ठतो व्यूहे चारयन् विजयी भवेत् ॥ १२ ॥
तत्तत्कार्यानुसारेण रथान् नागांस्तुरंगमान् ।
नरानश्वान् रथान् नागान् नरानश्वान् रथांस्तथा ॥(१३)॥
गजांश्चाग्रे प्रेषयेच्च योजयित्वा यथाक्रमं ।
देशकालौ निरीक्ष्यैव परिवारसमन्वितान् ॥(१४)॥
सर्वाभिसारसहितो यात्रोद्युक्तो नृपोत्तमः ।
प्रचक्रममथो दृष्ट्वा प्रसारे विनियोजयेत् ॥ १५ ॥
अभिषेणनमन्विच्छन्नभिक्रममथाचरेत् ॥ १५''॥
संग्राहिणः कौक्षिकांश्च जंघालाननुकामिनान् ।
ऊर्जस्वलान् सांयुगीनान् सैन्यमध्ये प्रचारयेत् ॥ १६''॥
बालान् पोतांश्च कलभान् विक्कांश्चैवोपवाह्यकान् ।
मदोत्कटांश्च कलभान् सान्नाह्यानेव कारयेत् ॥ १७''॥
उद्वांतं हास्तिकं चापि घण्टापथचरं भवेत् ॥ १८ ॥
वीतमंतःपुरं चैव पृष्ठयान् वै प्रातिवेश्यकान् ।
शाखानगरवासांश्च राजधानीवणिग्जनान् ॥(१९)॥
सौविदल्लान् वर्षवरान् वृद्धान् बालांश्च रोगिणः ।
सक्षतानक्षिरहितान् पंगून् व्यंगान् सुदुर्बलान् ॥(२०)॥
तथा पुष्यरथांश्चैव भद्रासनयुतानपि ।
प्रक्रियानुल्लवांश्चैव युद्धोपकरणानि च ॥(२१)॥
कोष्ठागारायुधागारयंत्रागाराणि यानि च ।
मंदरान् धान्यकोशं च यच्चान्यत्कृशदुर्बलं ॥(२२)॥
प्रतिग्रहे वासयेच्च योधासंमर्दहेतवे ।

तस्य रक्षाञ्च विधिवच्छूरैः कुर्यान्नराधिपः ॥ २३ ॥
ऊर्जस्वलांश्च जंघालानाभ्यमित्रीयितस्तथा ।
आत्यंतिकान् स्पशान् दूतांश्चैत्रान् सांयुगिकांस्तथा ॥(२४)॥
जैत्रध्वजपताकं च स्वगजं च महोन्नतं ।
नासीरे प्रेषयेदेतानुरस्वद्भिर्बलैस्सह ॥ २५ ॥
पुरोगानुचरांश्चैव साहायाभिचरांस्तथा ।
प्रष्ठांश्च जांघिकांश्चैव वेत्रिणोऽनुप्लवांस्तथा ॥(२६)॥
असिचर्मधरांश्चैव शंसकान् मागधांस्तथा ।
स्वपुरश्चारयेद्राजा स्वसंरक्षणकारणात् ॥ २७ ॥
आजानेयांश्च जवनान् पृष्ठ्यान् रथ्यांश्च कर्कशान् ।
पृष्ठेऽश्वान् वासयेद्राजा सविधे व्यूहकंकटान् ॥ २८ ॥
आश्विनं वप्रसहितं सालं काष्ठविनिर्मितं ।
बृहत्कूटं सपरिखं धनधान्यायुधान्वितं ॥(२९)॥
सकाण्डपृष्ठं सजलं सतुषांगारशिल्पिकं ।
समाश्रयेद्युध्यमानश्शत्रुभिर्नृपसत्तमः ॥ ३० ॥
बहूदयान् प्रात्ययिकान् कृत्वान्तर्वंशिकान् नृपः ।
प्राज्ञान् मूलप्रतीकारान् वैरनिर्यातनं चरेत् ॥ ३१ ॥
मूलप्रतिग्रहं कृत्वा प्रत्यासारं प्रकल्प्य च ।
पौरश्रेणीस्स्वराष्ट्रं च पालयन् श्रितप्राभृतः ॥(३२)॥
सैनिकान् परिधिस्थांश्च स्थापयित्वा नृपोत्तमः ।
प्रस्थापयेन्मार्गकरान् पुरस्ताच्छिल्पिनो बहून् ॥(३३)॥
कर्मान्तिकान् यष्टिधरान् खनकान् तक्षकानपि ।
सूत्रिणो रोपकांश्चैव सेतुबन्धकरानपि ॥(३४)॥
तथा भूमिप्रदेशज्ञान् व्याधान् वनविशारदान् ।

विषमस्थं रिपुबलं ये विद्युस्तान् बहुश्रुतान् ॥(३५)॥
प्रेषयित्वा नयेत् सेनां गुप्तिकर्म विधाय च ।
परिहृत्य श्मशानानि देवतायतनानि च ॥(३६)॥
आश्रमांश्च महर्षीणां तीर्थान्यायतनानि च ।
नाधितिष्ठेत् तुषाङ्गारभस्मकेशकपालिकाः ॥ ३७ ॥
मधुरानूषरे देशे शिवे पुण्ये जलावृते ।
निवेशं कारयेद्राजा सेनायास्तु स्ववृद्धये ॥ ३८ ॥
विद्रावयेच्छत्रुगुल्मांस्तथा चैकचराहितान् ।
परिक्रमेच्च सेनायां परितो योधसंवृतः ॥ ३९ ॥
दूष्याणि च नरेंद्राणां स्वयमेव विचारयन् ।
शत्रूद्योगविघातार्थं परितश्चारयेद्बलं ॥ ४० ॥
गुप्तिकर्म समादिश्य चाराननुविधाय च ।
शिबिराणि महार्हाणि स्वयोधानां पृथक् पृथक् ॥(४१)॥
प्रभूतजलकाष्ठानि दुराधर्षतराणि च ।
भक्ष्यभोज्योपपन्नानि धनधान्ययुतानि च ॥(४२)॥
कृत्वा सुशिल्पिनः प्राज्ञाञ्शतशो दत्तवेतनान् ।
सर्वोपकरणैर्युक्तान् वैद्यांश्च सुविशारदान् ॥(४३)॥
प्रदेयानि तु योधानां वस्त्राण्याभरणानि च ।
वित्तं बहु च संस्थाप्य निश्शंको योधयेदरीन् ॥ ४४ ॥
गतवाहनयोधानां वाहनानि प्रकल्पयेत् ।
विशस्त्राणां च शस्त्राणि दापयेद्युधि भूमिपः ॥ ४५ ॥
पल्याणानि खलीनानि पल्ययांकादिकानि च ।
प्रकीर्णकानि शीर्षण्यान्यथो कंकटकान् कुथाः ॥(४६)॥
ज्याधनुर्वर्मशस्त्राणि चापानि यवसं बहु ।

महायन्त्राणि नाराचांस्तोमरांश्च परश्वधान् ॥(४७)॥
रज्जूञ्शंकूञ्शंकुरोपान् लोहपादविबन्धनान् ।
दात्राणि च कुठारांश्च वाश्यांश्च छुरिका अपि ॥(४८)॥
चक्राणि लोहपट्टांश्च क्रकचांश्चर्मभस्त्रिकाः ।
पिटकानि खनित्राणि सूचीश्च ग्रथनोचिताः ॥(४९)॥
पृष्ठ्यान् वृषानश्वतरीनुष्ट्रान् वै दूरगामिनः ।
गजानां च हयानां च नराणामगदानि च ॥(५०)॥
विविधानि च वाद्यानि तथा कैरातकं मधु ।
शाल्मलीतूलिकां चैवाप्यश्मसाराश्मसंयुतां ॥(५१)॥
वराकीश्चैव तरुजाः कटाहाँल्लौहतांम्रकान् ।
आरकूटांश्च टंकांश्च शाणांश्च पृघनानपि ॥(५२)॥
अरा उपानहश्चेहाप्यूरुत्राणि कशास्तथा ।
विश्वकद्रूंश्च वेणूंश्च वागुरा बडिशान्यपि ॥(५३)॥
पतद्ग्राहान् गंधतैलं पीतिकादीनि यानि च ।
प्रास्थानिकानि सेनायास्तानि सुष्ठु प्रकल्पयेत् ॥ ५४ ॥
योधेषु रथिकान् कुर्यादश्वपृष्ठविशारदान् ।
अश्वारूढांस्तथा कुर्याद्रथेषु परिनिष्ठितान् ॥ ५५ ॥
उभौ तौ नृपतिः कुर्याद्गजपृष्ठसुयोधिनौ ।
तान् हि कुर्यात् पदातीन् वै पदातीनपि तादृशान् ॥ ५६ ॥
सारथ्ये च गजस्कंधे चक्ररक्षाविधौ तथा ।
अन्येषु वा साहसेषु तान् कुर्यान्निपुणान् नृपः ॥ ५७ ॥
द्वात्रिंशत् करणानि स्युर्युद्धे यानीह नीतितः ।
चतुरङ्गबलं सर्वं तेषु कुर्यात् सुनिष्ठितं ॥ ५८ ॥
प्रयाणपूर्वयायित्वं वनदुर्गप्रवेशनं ।

अकृतानां च मार्गाणां कृतानां च प्रवर्तनं ॥(५९)॥
बिभीषिकाविघातश्च तथा प्राकारभंजनं ।
कोशनीतिर्भयत्राणं भिन्नसंधानमेव च ॥(६०)॥
शत्रुपच्यश्वरोधश्च दुर्गे भारोद्वहस्तथा ।
वृक्षावभंजनं चैव हस्तिकर्म प्रचक्षते ॥ ६१ ॥
द्वितीयसैन्ययायित्वं गजसंरक्षणं तथा ।
भिन्नसंधानकारित्वं दूरे शत्रुनिवारणं ॥(६२)॥
शत्रूणामभिरोधश्च व्यूहद्वारे व्यवस्थितिः ।
महाघोषविधिश्चेति रथकर्म प्रचक्षते ॥ ६३ ॥
वनदिङ्मार्गविज्ञानं वीवधासाररक्षणं ।
प्रसारकरणं चापि हेषिताच्छत्रुभीषणं ॥(६४)॥
अनुयानापसरणे शीघ्रकार्योपपादनं ।
लुंठनं शत्रुसैन्यानामश्वकर्म प्रचक्षते ॥ ६५ ॥
शोधनं कूपतीर्थानां मार्गाणां शिबिरस्य च ।
स्कंधावारस्य करणं विष्टिकर्मप्रसाधनं ॥(६६)॥
कोशागारायुधागारधान्यागारादिरक्षणं ।
व्यूहप्राकारकरणं पत्तिकर्म प्रचक्षते ॥ ६७ ॥
अवृक्षस्थूलपाषाणगुल्मवल्मीककण्टका ।
सापसारा पदातीनां भूर्नातिविषमा मता ॥ ६८ ॥
अपंका शंकुरहिता तथा पाषाणवर्जिता ।
खुराघातक्षमाभिन्ना समा भूर्वाजिनां मता ॥ ६९ ॥
अकेदाराकृतश्वभ्रा वृक्षगुल्मविवर्जिता ।
खुरचक्रसहा सौम्या रथभूस्संप्रकीर्तिता ॥ ७० ॥
मर्दनीयतरुश्रेष्ठव्रततिः पंकवर्जिता ।

निर्दरा गम्यशैला च विषमा गजमेदिनी ॥ ७१ ॥
सर्वसेनाधिपः कार्यः कुलपुत्रो जितेन्द्रियः ।
दृष्टापदानो दक्षश्च रूपवान् राजवल्लभः ॥(७२)॥
लालाटिकश्चेंगितज्ञस्सेनानयविशारदः ।
धृष्टस्सांत्वयिता चैव स्वयोधानां रणाजिरे ॥ ७३ ॥
अक्षौहिणीनां पतयः पृथक् कार्यास्तथाविधाः ।
सेनापतिवशे तेऽपि तिष्ठेयुस्तेन पालिताः ॥ ७४ ॥
पत्तेस्सेनामुखस्यापि गुल्मस्य च गणस्य च ।
वाहिन्याः पृतनायाश्च चम्वाश्चाप्यधिपाः पृथक् ॥(७५)॥
अनीकिन्याश्च कार्या वै योधशिक्षासु निष्ठिताः ।
द्वयोस्त्रयाणां पतयः कार्याः कार्यानुसारतः ॥ ७६ ॥
दिवसे दिवसे संज्ञाः पृथक् कार्यास्स्वके बले ।
ता जानीयुस्सैन्यपाला न भटा नेतरे जनाः ॥ ७७ ॥
स्वाज्ञासंचरणार्थाय संचरेयुस्स्वचिह्निताः ।
शत्रूणामुपघातार्थं गुप्तिकर्म प्रचक्षते ॥ ७८ ॥
यादृक्सैन्याधिपत्ये तु पूर्वं योऽधिकृतो भवेत् ।
स ज्येष्ठभावे नियतस्तत्पाश्चात्यास्तु तद्वशे ॥ ७९ ॥
पत्त्याद्यङ्गपतीनष्टावक्षौहिण्यधिपानुगान् ।
कृत्वा ज्येष्ठानुसारेण नियम्यास्सर्वसैनिकाः ॥ ८० ॥
राज्ञा नियमितांस्त्यक्त्वा तथासंज्ञोत्तरप्रदान् ।
हन्यान्निशिचरान् सैन्ये नृपाज्ञापरिपंथिनः ॥ ८१ ॥
अधिपाः प्रतिसेनायास्त्रयः कार्यास्सुशिक्षिताः ।
उत्तमाधममध्यस्था ज्येष्ठाज्ञावशवर्तिनः ॥ ८२ ॥
दिवसे दिवसे सेनां परिवर्त्य प्रचोदयेत् ।

एकत्र सुस्थितं सैन्यं शंकां स्वस्यापि साधयेत् ॥ ८३ ॥
यस्त्वमात्योऽनुकूलस्स्याद्राजकार्यधुरंधरः ।
सैन्यपालस्य तस्याज्ञां स्वयं राजा समाश्रयेत् ॥ ८४ ॥
समुत्पिजे स्वसैन्ये च संशप्तैर्योधयेदरीन् ।
वीराशंसनके तिष्ठेद्विजिगीषुर्नृपस्स्वयं ॥ ८५ ॥
कान्दिशीके स्वसैन्ये तु मुण्डानीके वसेत् स्वयं ।
कृतलोहाभिसारस्सन् पश्चाद्गत्वा रिपूञ्जयेत् ॥ ८६ ॥
गव्यूतिमात्रे यो व्यूहो बृहत्सैन्यस्य निर्मितः ।
अच्छत्रचामरैश्शूरैर्मुण्डानीकं स चोच्यते ॥ ८७ ॥
प्रत्यग्रे कर्मणि कृते श्लाघमानः कृतादरः ।
योधेभ्यः पूर्णपात्रं हि दद्याद्राजा विशेषतः ॥ ८८ ॥
दद्यात् प्रहृष्टो नियुतं वर्णानां राजघातिने ।
तदर्धं तत्सुतवधे सेनापतिवधे तथा ॥(८९)॥
अक्षौहिणीपतिवधे तदर्धं परिचक्षते ।
मंत्र्यमात्यवधे चैव तदर्धं तु प्रदापयेत् ॥ ९० ॥
अनीकिनी चमूश्चैव पृतना वाहिनी गणः ।
गुल्मं सेनामुखं पत्तिरेतेषां पतिघातिने ॥(९१)॥
क्रमादर्धांशह्रासेन तत्तदर्धानि दापयेत् ।
वेतनादधिकं चैतत् प्राप्य कुर्युश्च साहसं ॥ ९२ ॥
अक्षौहिण्याः पतिं हत्वा द्वितीयं वा तृतीयकं ।
चम्वोरधिपतिं चैव पृतनानां पतिं तथा ॥(९३)॥
अनीकिनीपहा यावत् तावत् प्राप्नोति राजतः ।
इत्थमग्रेऽपि योक्तव्यं सन्मानमधिपापहे ॥ ९४ ॥
पलायितं सायुधं तु धृत्वा स्वभटदायिने ।

वर्णानां पंच वै दद्यात् तस्मै सत्कृत्य भूमिपः ॥ ९५ ॥
पलायितं स्वभृतिकं विशस्त्रं देहलोभिनं ।
धृत्वा निवेदिने दद्याद्वर्णानां च त्रिकं नृपः ॥ ९६ ॥
गजं च गजसादिं च महारथिकमस्तकं ।
छित्वा निवेदयेद्राज्ञो द्विसाहस्रं स चार्हति ॥ ९७ ॥
हयारूढवरं हत्वा पादाताधिपतिं तथा ।
वर्णानां च सहस्रस्य योग्यो भवति राजतः ॥ ९८ ॥
शत्रुसैन्यात् कुंजरं वा रथं वा यस्समाहरेत् ।
पंचाशद्वर्वसंमानं स प्राप्नोत्विह राजतः ॥ ९९ ॥
प्रतिप्रयाणं भृत्यानां भक्तं देयं स्थितौ न हि ।
मार्गायासं विदित्वैषां वेतनादधिकं त्विदं ॥ १०० ॥
अन्येषु वा साहसेषु वेतनादधिकं नृपः ।
लोकसंग्रहणार्थं च दद्याद्वै पारितोषिकं ॥ १०१ ॥
भटेभ्यश्चैव वस्त्राणि रजकानां च वेतनं ।
तद्वेतनेनैव कल्प्यान्यौषधानि च रोगिणां ॥ १०२ ॥
परराष्ट्रार्जितं द्रव्यमर्धं राजा विभज्य तु ।
योधेभ्योऽर्धं प्रदेयं स्यादर्धं च स्वयमाहरेत् ॥ १०३ ॥
हयं वा शकटीं वापि हरेत् सोपस्कृतां भटः ।
तदर्घतुर्यमंशं तु स लभेद्राजसत्कृतः ॥ १०४ ॥
शिथिलानि च शस्त्राणि लुंठितं शत्रुभिर्युधि ।
स्वयोधानां नृपो दद्याद्वेतनं परिहाप्य च ॥ १०५ ॥
युद्धे स्वार्थं मृता ये च शत्रुभिस्तत्स्वबंधुषु ।
सेवया जीरिता ये च देयं तेषां तु जीवनं ॥ १०६ ॥
मृतानां जीवतां चापि पूर्वं सेवापरात्मनां ।

तदीयानां तु तेषां वा पूर्वभर्मार्धजीवनं ॥ १०७ ॥
संग्रामेऽभिमुखाः कृत्ता युवानो नमृता भटाः ।
राजसेवास्वशक्ता ये तेषां पूर्वार्धजीवनं ॥ १०८ ॥
शत्रूणामुपघातार्थं तस्य मर्माणि योऽर्पयेत् ।
स्वस्मै तस्यापि कर्मण्या द्विगुणा परिकीर्तिता ॥ १०९ ॥
शत्रुसेनाविभेत्तारं दुर्गारोहणतत्परं ।
स्वराज्यवृद्धिकर्तारं योजयेद्द्रविणोत्करैः ॥ ११० ॥
इत्थंविधाभिस्तु भटान् नियोज्य ।
राजा कृतार्थस्तु रिपून् निहत्य ॥
संप्राप्य कीर्तिं महतीं श्रियं च ।
महीयते राजवराभिवंद्यः ॥ १११ ॥

इति श्रीमन्नीतिशास्त्रे नीतिप्रकाशिकायां सेनानयकथनं
नाम षष्ठोऽध्यायः

सप्तमोऽध्यायः

अथ सैन्यं प्रवक्ष्यामि सेनानयविवृद्धये ।
पत्तिमारभ्य गणनां यावदक्षौहिणी तव ॥(१)॥
शतांगानामिभानां च सैन्धवानां महीपते ।
पदातीनां च भद्रं ते सैन्यस्थानां विशेषतः ॥ २ ॥
पत्तिस्सेनामुखं गुल्मं गणो वै वाहिनी ततः ।
पृतना चम्वनीकिन्यौ ततश्चाक्षौहिणी स्मृता ॥ ३ ॥
एते सेनाविशेषा वै पत्तौ मुख्यान् वदामि ते ।
रथं नागं तुरंगांश्च पदातींश्च विशेषतः ॥ ४ ॥
एको रथो गजश्चैको नराः पंच हयास्त्रयः ।
यस्यां सा पत्तिरेतेषां सहायान् प्रब्रुवेऽधुना ॥ ५ ॥
नागा दश रथस्यास्य शतमश्वास्सहानुगाः ।
सहस्रं तु नराः प्रोक्ताः परिवारा नृपाज्ञया ॥ ६ ॥
एकस्यैकस्य नागस्य शतमश्वाः प्रयायिनः ।
पदातयस्सहस्रं तु प्रत्यंगेष्वनुयायिनः ॥ ७ ॥
एकस्यैकस्य चाश्वस्य सहस्रं तु पदातयः ।
दश चैतान् पतीन् युङ्क्त्वा कात्स्न्र्येन गणना त्वियं ॥ ८ ॥
एको रथो दश गजास्सहस्रं चात्र वाजिनः ।
लक्षसंख्या नराः पत्तावेवमग्रेऽपि योजना ॥ ९ ॥
पत्त्यंगैस्त्रिगुणैस्सर्वैः क्रमादाख्या यथोत्तरं ।
अनीकिनीं दशगुणामाहुरक्षौहिणीं बुधाः ॥ १० ॥
सेनामुखे तु गुणितास्त्रयश्चैव रथा गजाः ।

त्रिंशत् विलक्षपदगास्त्रिसहस्रं हि वाजिनः ॥ ११ ॥
गुल्मे नव रथाः प्रोक्ता नागानां नवतिं विदुः ।
अश्वानां नवसाहस्रं नवलक्षाः पदातयः ॥ १२ ॥
गणाख्ये तु शतांगानां वराणां सप्तविंशतिः ।
स्तंबेरमाणां द्विशतं सप्ततिं प्राहुरार्यकाः ॥(१३)॥
सप्तविंशतिसाहस्रा गंधर्वाः परिकीर्तिताः ।
सप्तविंशतिलक्षास्तु स्मृताश्चात्र पदातयः ॥ १४ ॥
वाहिन्यां स्यंदनाः प्रोक्ता ह्येकाशीत्या नियोजिताः ।
दशोत्तराष्टशतकाः पद्मिनश्चात्र कीर्तिताः ॥(१५)॥
एकाशीतिसहस्रास्तु तुरंगास्संप्रकीर्तिताः ।
एकाशीतिकलक्षा वै विख्याताः पादचारिणः ॥ १६ ॥
त्रयश्च चत्वारिंशच्च द्विशतं पृतनारथाः ।
चतुश्शतं च त्रिंशच्च द्वेसहस्रे च दंतिनां ॥(१७)॥
तुरंगाणां सहस्राणि त्रिचत्वारिंशदेव तु ।
द्वे लक्षे चैव राजेन्द्र द्वे कोटी च नृणां भवेत् ॥(१८)॥
त्रिचत्वारिंशच्च लक्षं पदातीनां निबोध मे ।
चम्वाख्ये सप्तमव्यूहे गणनां वच्मि विस्तरात् ॥ १९ ॥
चम्वां सप्तशतं चैकन्यूनत्रिंशद्रथास्स्मृताः ।
सप्तैवं च सहस्राणि द्वे शते नवतिस्तथा ॥(२०)॥
गजानां सप्तलक्षाणि चैकोनत्रिंशदेव तु ।
सहस्राणि हयानां च पदातीनामथो शृणु ॥(२१)॥
सप्त कोट्यश्च चैकोनत्रिंशल्लक्षाणि भूपते ।
जगुर्गणिततत्त्वज्ञा गणनां बुद्धिजीविनः ॥ २२ ॥
अनीकिन्यां द्वे सहस्रे सप्ताशीत्यधिकं शतं ।

रथानामथ नागानां गणनां वच्मि तेऽनघ ॥(२३)॥
एकविंशत्सहस्राणि तथा चाष्टशतं नृप ।
सप्ततिश्चेत्यथाश्वानां संख्यां शृणु समाहितः ॥(२४)॥
एकविंशतिलक्षाणि सप्ताशीतिसहस्रकं ।
एकविंशतिकोट्यश्च पदातीनां नराधिप ॥(२५)॥
सप्ताशीतिं च लक्षाणां विद्धि बुद्धिमतां वर ।
एतद्दशगुणा या स्यात् तां त्वमक्षौहिणीं शृणु ॥ २६ ॥
अक्षौहिण्यां त्वेकविंशत्सहस्राणि जनाधिप ।
तथा चाष्टशतं चैव सप्ततिं रथगां विदुः ॥(२७)॥
अष्टादशसहस्राणि द्वे लक्षे च नरेश्वर ।
तथा सप्तशतं चैव गजानां गणना त्वियं ॥(२८)॥
द्वे कोटी चैव लक्षाणामष्टादश महीपते ।
तथा सप्ततिसाहस्रा गंधर्वाश्शीघ्रयायिनः ॥(२९)॥
द्वे चार्बुदे च कोटिश्चाप्यष्टादश समीरिताः ।
लक्षाणां सप्ततिश्चैव पदातीनामितीयती ॥ ३० ॥
एतानक्षौहिणीसंस्थान् विना राज्ञो रथा गजाः ।
अश्वास्स्वतंत्रास्संत्यन्ये पृष्ठगोपा नृपस्य ते ॥ ३१ ॥
पत्त्याद्यंगे ध्वजपटाः पृथक् कार्या विशेषतः ।
स्वसैन्यस्य च शत्रोश्च वैलक्षण्यस्य सिद्धये ॥ ३२ ॥
युवराजाय वर्षाणां पञ्चसाहस्रिकी भृतिः ।
सर्वसेनाप्रणेत्रे च चतुस्साहस्रिकी च सा ॥ ३३ ॥
भृतिश्चातिरथे देया वर्षाणां त्रिसहस्रकं ।
महारथाय साहस्रद्वयं राज्ञाधिमासिकं ॥ ३४ ॥
वेतनं रथिकायाथ साहस्रं गजयोधिने ।

दद्यादर्धरथायाथ वेतनं शतपञ्चकं ॥ ३५ ॥
एकस्मै रथिकायाथ तादृशे गजसादिने ।
निष्काणां त्रिशतं दद्याद्यतस्तौ तत्कुटुंबिनौ ॥ ३६ ॥
सर्वाश्वाधिपती राज्ञस्त्रिसाहस्रं स चार्हति ।
पादाताधिपतिश्चापि द्विसाहस्रस्य भाजनं ॥ ३७ ॥
पादातानां सहस्रस्य नेत्रे पंचशतं स्मृतं ।
तथा चाश्वसहस्रेशे सहस्रं वेतनं भवेत् ॥ ३८ ॥
पदातये सुवर्णानां पंचकं वेतनं भवेत् ।
शतपत्त्यधिपे सप्त वर्वाणां हययायिने ॥(३९)॥
गजयंतुस्सारथेश्च ध्वजिने चक्रपाय च ।
पदातित्रिशतेशाय पथिकोष्ट्रचराय च ॥(४०)॥
वार्तिकाधिपतेश्चापि वेत्रिणां पतये तथा ।
सूतमागधवंदीनां पतये वीवधाधिपे ॥(४१)॥
सेनाया भृतिदात्रे च भटानां गणनापरे ।
मासि मासि तु वर्वाणां दश पंच च वेतनं ॥ ४२ ॥
तत्तत्कार्यानुसारेण कुलपर्यायतस्तथा ।
भटानां तु भृतिः कल्प्या तत्तत्कालानुसारतः ॥ ४३ ॥
आहवेषु मिथश्शूरा जिघांसन्तो महीक्षितः ।
युध्यमानाः परं शक्त्या स्वर्गं यांत्यपरांङ्मुखाः ॥ ४४ ॥
न कूटैरायुधैर्हन्याद्युध्यमानो रणे रिपून् ।
दिग्धैरग्न्युज्वलैर्यन्त्रैस्तंत्रैश्चैव पृथग्विधैः ॥ ४५ ॥
न हन्याद्वृक्षमारूढं न क्लीबं न कृतांजलिं ।
न मुक्तकेशं नासीनं न तवास्मीति वादिनं ॥(४६)॥
न प्रसुप्तं न प्रणतं न नग्नं न निरायुधं ।

न युध्यमानं पश्यन्तं न परेण समागतं ॥(४७)॥
आयुधव्यसनं प्राप्तं नार्तं नातिपरिक्षतं ।
न हीनं न परावृत्तं न च वल्मीकमाश्रितं ॥(४८)॥
न मुखे तृणिनं हन्यान्न स्त्रियो वेषधारिणं ।
एतादृशान् भटैर्वापि घातयन् किल्बिषी भवेत् ॥ ४९ ॥
हन्यमानस्य यत् किंचिद्दुष्कृतं पूर्वसंचितं ।
तत् संगृह्य स्वसुकृतं तेभ्यो दद्यात् तथाविधः ॥ ५० ॥
मार्गशीर्षे शुभे मासि कुर्याद्यात्रां महीपतिः ।
फाल्गुने वापि चैत्रे वा यदा पश्येद्ध्रुवं जयं ॥ ५१ ॥
शत्रुसेविनि मित्रे च गूढयत्नतमो भवेत् ।
गतप्रत्यागते चैव स हि कष्टतमो रिपुः ॥ ५२ ॥
दंडव्यूहेन सेनां तु नयेत् तु शकटेन वा ।
वराहगरुडाभ्यां वा सूच्या वा मकरेण वा ॥ ५३ ॥
यतो भवेद्भयं शत्रोस्ततो विस्तारयेद्बलं ।
सेनापतिबलाध्यक्षान् सर्वदिक्षु निवेशयेत् ॥ ५४ ॥
यतश्शंका भवेद्भीतस्तां प्राचीं कल्पयेद्दिशं ।
सूच्या वक्रेण चैवैनान् योधयेद्व्यूह्य वैरिणः ॥ ५५ ॥
गुल्मांश्च स्थापयेदाप्तान् कृतसंज्ञान् समंततः ।
स्थाने युद्धे च कुशलानभीरूनरिघातिनः ॥ ५६ ॥
यवसान्नोदकधनान्युपरुन्ध्याद्रिपोर्युधि ।
चेष्टाश्चैव विजानीयादरीन् योधयतां स्वयं ॥ ५७ ॥
उपजप्यानुपजपेद्भेद्यांश्चैव विभेदयेत् ।
लुब्धान् दानेन बिभृयाच्छत्रोर्योधान् यथोचितं ॥ ५८ ॥
तादृशानेव स्वीयांस्तु शिक्षयेदविचारयन् ।

गोपयेत् स्वीयमार्गांश्च परमर्मपरो नृपः ॥ ५९ ॥
युद्धकाले ह्यनुप्राप्ते स्वीयाज्ञापरिपंथिनां ।
पलायनपराणां च स्वयोधानामुपेक्षिणां ॥(६०)॥
व्याजेन युध्यतां चैव सैन्यपानां सुलोभिनां ।
पराङ्मुखपराणां च मिथो योधविभेदिनां ॥(६१)॥
शत्रुषु स्वीयमार्गांश्च व्याजात् ख्यापयतां स्फुटं ।
रिपूणां मार्गदातॄणां स्वापदं चाभिनन्दतां ॥(६२)॥
तेषां प्राणान्तिको दंडो राज्ञा कार्यो विजानता ।
सुमहत्यपराधेऽपि दूतवध्या विगर्हिता ॥ ६३ ॥
योऽदंड्यान् मोचयेद्राजा सम्यग्दंड्यांश्च घातयेत् ।
इष्टं भवेत् क्रतुशतैस्तेन धर्मानुवर्तिना ॥ ६४ ॥

इति श्रीमन्नीतिशास्त्रे नीतिप्रकाशिकायां सैन्ययोगकथनं
नाम सप्तमोऽध्यायः

अष्टमोऽध्यायः

राजधर्मान् प्रवक्ष्यामि यथावृत्तो भवेन्नृपः ।
लोकरंजनमेवात्र राज्ञो धर्मस्सनातनः ॥ १ ॥
यदा हि गर्भिणी हित्वा स्वं प्रियं मनसेऽनुगं ।
गर्भस्य हितमाधत्ते तथा कुर्यात् प्रजाहितं ॥ २ ॥
अष्टाभिर्लोकपालानां मात्राभिर्निर्मितो यतः ।
तस्मादभिभवेद्राजा सर्वभूतानि तेजसा । ॥ ३ ॥
सोऽग्निर्भवति वायुश्च सोऽर्कस्सोमस्स धर्मपः ।
स कुबेरस्स वरुणस्स महेन्द्रः प्रभावतः ॥ ४ ॥
बालोऽपि नावमन्तव्यो मनुष्य इति भूमिपः ।
महती देवता ह्येषा नररूपेण तिष्ठति ॥ ५ ॥
एकमेव दहत्यग्निर्नरं दुरुपसर्पिणं ।
कुलं दहति राजाग्निस्सपशुद्रव्यसंचयं ॥ ६ ॥
तस्य प्रसादे पद्मा श्रीर्विजयश्च पराक्रमे ।
मृत्युश्च वसति क्रोधे तस्मात् सर्वाश्रयस्तु सः ॥ ७ ॥
अगूढविभवा यस्य पुरराष्ट्रनिवासिनः ।
नयापनयवेत्ता यस्स राजा त्विदमाचरेत् ॥ ८ ॥
उत्थायापररात्रेषु चिन्तयेदर्थनिर्णयं ।
गुणदोषान् स्वयं बुध्वा कर्तव्यार्थे प्रसन्नधीः ॥(९)॥
दैवं हृदा दृढं ध्यात्वा कृत्वा मङ्गलपाठकं ।
शुचिर्भूत्वा तु विधिवन्मङ्गलालम्बनं चरेत् ॥ १० ॥
नित्यकर्म समाप्याथ नित्यदानं विधाय च ।

त्रैविद्यवृद्धान् नत्वा तु तिष्ठेदेषां च शासने ॥ ११ ॥
तेभ्योऽधिगच्छेद्विनयं विनीतात्मा हि नित्यशः ।
वनस्थाश्चैव राज्यानि विनयात् प्रतिपेदिरे ॥ १२ ॥
इंद्रियाणां जये योगमधितिष्ठेद्दिवानिशं ।
जगज्जितेंद्रियस्येदं वशे भवति नित्यदा ॥ १३ ॥
अरिषड्वर्गरहितो वेदशास्त्रपरश्शुचिः ।
प्रातःकाले व्यतीते तु भूषितस्तु सभां व्रजेत् ॥ १४ ॥
उच्चासनस्थो नृपती राज्यतंत्रं विचारयेत् ।
धर्मासने समारोप्य विप्रं सुज्ञं पुरोहितं ॥ १५ ॥
जातिमात्रोपजीवी वा कामं स्याद्ब्राह्मणब्रुवः ।
धर्मप्रवक्ता नृपतेर्न तु शूद्रः कथञ्चन ॥ १६ ॥
यस्य शूद्रस्तु कुरुते राज्ञो धर्मविवेचनं ।
तस्य सीदति तद्राष्ट्रं पंके गौरिव पश्यतः ॥ १७ ॥
मौलांञ्छास्त्रविदश्शूराँल्लँब्धलक्षान् कुलोद्भवान् ।
सचिवान् सप्त चाष्टौ वा कुर्वीत सुपरीक्षकान् ॥ १८ ॥
सुमंत्रिणः प्रकुर्वीत द्वौ वा त्रीन् न्यायवादिनः ।
तैस्सार्धं चिन्तयेदर्थान् पट्टनेऽर्थपरो नृपः ॥ १९ ॥
द्वारपालान् पृष्ठगोपान् सभानेतॄनथाश्ववान् ।
समाज्ञाप्य विधानेन सावधानमना भवेत् ॥ २० ॥
दूतं चैव प्रकुर्वीत सर्वशास्त्रविशारदं ।
इङ्गिताकारचेष्टाज्ञं शुचिं लालाटिकं हितं ॥ २१ ॥
धर्मशास्त्रानुसारेण सामात्यस्सपुरोहितः ।
व्यवहारान् नृपः पश्येद्विद्वद्भिर्ब्राह्मणैस्सह ॥ २२ ॥
सेनाकर्म समालोक्य भृतिं तेभ्यो विधाय च ।

दीनान्धकृपणानां च वृत्तिं सम्यग्विचार्य च ॥(२३)॥
आयव्ययं च विज्ञाय आयत्यभ्युदयं तदा ।
कृषीवलानां कृत्वा तु योगक्षेमौ च जीवनं ॥(२४)॥
दुर्भिक्षव्यसनोपेतान् विदित्वा तु परोक्षतः ।
तेभ्यः प्रदाय स्वद्रव्यं यथायोग्यं विवर्ध्य तान् ॥(२५)॥
स्वद्रव्यमाहरेत् तेभ्यस्सुपुष्टेभ्यस्समाहितः ।
अवधेः पत्रिकां तेभ्यो लेखयित्वा स्वहस्ततः ॥(२६)॥
उन्मोच्य चाधिकारिभ्यो भयात् क्षुद्रान् स्वयं नृपः ।
पारितोषिकवस्त्राणि तेषां दत्वा यथाविधि ॥(२७)॥
वाचा तान् भीषयित्वा तु हृदयार्द्रो महीपतिः ।
व्यवस्थां विदधन्नेभ्यस्सामदानविचक्षणः ॥(२८)॥
चारेभ्यश्चाधिकारिणां चरितानि विचार्य च ।
दुष्टानां शिक्षणं कुर्याद्दंडनीतिप्रवर्तकः ॥ २९ ॥
यत्र श्यामो लोहिताक्षो दंडश्चरति पापहा ।
प्रजास्तत्र न मुह्यंति नेता चेत् साधु पश्यति ॥ ३० ॥
अकालक्रयविक्रेयकर्तॄणां स्वार्थकामिनां ।
प्रजाभ्यो दायकर्तॄणां स्वामिकार्यविघातिनां ॥(३१)॥
प्रजोद्वेजनकर्तॄणामुग्रदंडेन दुःखतः ।
गोदेवब्राह्मणस्वानां हर्तॄणां लोभदोषतः ॥(३२)॥
राजाज्ञाप्रतिबन्दीनां राजद्रोहपरात्मनां ।
स्वराजचरिताख्यानकर्तॄणां शत्रुराजके ॥(३३)॥
सेतुभेदकराणां च चोरमोचनकारिणां ।
राजस्वे च प्रमत्तानां राजकोशापहारिणां ॥(३४)॥
स्वाधीनाधिकृतानां तु वेतनार्धं प्रगृह्णतां ।

स्वयूथभेदकर्तॄणामभिचाररतात्मनां ॥(३५)॥
अपलापप्रसक्तानां स्ववाक्ये राजसन्निधौ ।
राजस्वेऽन्यत्वकर्तॄणां तटाकारामघातिनां ॥(३६)॥
शिक्षणार्थं चरा योज्यास्तेभ्यो विज्ञाय तत्त्वतः ।
तेषां व्यतिक्रमं पश्चाच्छिक्षयेन्नीतिमार्गतः ॥ ३७ ॥
अधिकारप्रच्यवैश्च कारागाराधिवासनैः ।
निगलालंबनैश्चैव राष्ट्रनिष्कासनैस्तथा ॥(३८)॥
सर्वस्वहरणैश्चैव नीचकृत्यप्रचोदनैः ।
प्रावारेणैकवस्त्रेण चतुष्पथनिवेशनैः ॥(३९)॥
परिवर्तनाधिकारैश्च कायक्लेशोपपादनैः* ।
मृद्घातैश्च कशाघातैर्विरूपकरणैस्तथा ॥(४०)॥
एतैरन्यैर्यथाशास्त्रं शिक्षयेदधिकारिणः ।
राज्ञा तु शिक्षितान् दृष्ट्वा ये हसेयुश्च तानपि ॥ ४१ ॥
राज्ञोपहासनिंदे च राजदारान् हसंति ये ।
नीचज्जनानमार्गस्थाञ्ज्ञात्वा संशिक्षयेन्नृपः ॥ ४२ ॥
मृदुर्हि राजा सततं लघुर्भवति सर्वशः ।
तीक्ष्णाच्चोद्विजते लोकस्तस्मादुभयमाचरेत् ॥ ४३ ॥
राजानं प्रथमं विन्देत् ततो भार्यां ततो धनं ।
राजन्यसति लोकेऽस्मिन् कुतो भार्या धनं कुतः ॥ ४४ ॥
आयानुकूलं कुर्वीरन् भृत्या राजहितैषिणः ।
पश्चान्निवेदयेयुस्तदन्यथा दंडभागिनः ॥ ४५ ॥
ग्रामस्याधिपतिः कार्यो दशग्रामाधिपस्तथा ।
विंशतीशश्शतेशश्च सहस्रेशो नृपेण तु ॥ ४६ ॥
ग्रामीयान् ग्रामदोषांश्च ग्रामिकः परिपालयेत् ।

तानाचक्षेत दशिने दशको विंशतीश्वरे ॥(४७)॥
विंशतीशश्च तत्सर्वं वृत्तं जानपदे जने ।
ग्रामाणां शतपालाय सर्वं वै विनिवेदयेत् ॥ ४८ ॥
यानि ग्रामिकभोज्यानि ग्रामिकस्तान्युपाश्नुते ।
हिरण्यधान्यभागेन यतो राष्ट्रीयकस्स्मृतः ॥ ४९ ॥
दशी तेन विभक्तव्यो विंशतीशस्तथा स्मृतः ।
ग्रामं ग्रामशताध्यक्षो भोक्तुमर्हति सत्कृतः ॥ ५० ॥
शाखानगरमर्हस्तु सहस्रपतिरुत्तमं ।
दिक्पालासनयोग्योऽसौ शतादिग्रामनायकः ॥ ५१ ॥
तेषां यद्ग्रामकृत्यं स्याद्राष्ट्रकृत्यं च यद्भवेत् ।
धर्मज्ञस्सचिवः कश्चित् तदपेक्षेदतंद्रितः ॥ ५२ ॥
नगरे नगरे च स्यादेकस्सर्वार्थचिंतकः ।
उच्चस्थानो घोररूपो नक्षत्राणामिव ग्रहः ॥ ५३ ॥
स च तान् संपरिक्रामेत् सर्वानेव सदा कृती ।
तेषां वृत्तिं हि गणयेत् सम्यग्राष्ट्रैस्स्वचारकैः ॥ ५४ ॥
जिघांसवः पापकामाः परस्वादायिनश्शठाः ।
तत्तद्रक्षास्वधिकृतास्तेभ्यो रक्षेदिमाः प्रजाः ॥ ५५ ॥
उच्चावचाः करा न्यायाः पूर्वराज्ञां युधिष्ठिर ।
यथा यथा न हीयेयुस्तथा कुर्यान्महीपतिः ॥ ५६ ॥
ब्राह्मणेभ्यो नाददीत शुल्कं राजा तथा करं ।
न ब्राह्मणधनस्वामी कदाचित् स्यान्नराधिपः ॥ ५७ ॥
आयं तु विपुलं कुर्याद्व्ययं कुर्यात् सुसूक्ष्मकं ।
नीव्द्यात्रां तथा भूपो लोकानुग्रहकृत् स्वयं ॥ ५८ ॥
बंधयेच्च तटाकानि सरांसि स्वगृहाणि च ।

श्रेणीवृक्षांस्तथारामान् गोपयेच्च सुमार्गकृत् ॥ ५९ ॥
सन्मानं चैव कुर्वीत विद्यावृद्धद्विजातिषु ।
अवमत्यादिभिर्दण्डैर्विप्रान् विद्यासु योजयेत् ॥ ६० ॥
अलब्धमीहेद्धर्मेण लब्धं यत्नेन पालयेत् ।
पालितं वर्धयेन्नित्यं वृद्धं पात्रेषु निक्षिपेत् ॥ ६१ ॥
भोगं च दद्याद्विप्रेभ्यो वसूनि विविधानि च ।
अक्षयोऽयं निधी राज्ञां यद्विप्रेषूपपादनं ॥ ६२ ॥
दत्वा भूमिनिबंधं वा कृत्वा लेख्यं तु कारयेत् ।
आगामिभद्रनृपतिपरिज्ञानाय पार्थिवः ॥ ६३ ॥
दत्वा भूम्यादिकं राजा ताम्रपट्टेऽथवा पटे ।
शासनं कारयेद्धर्म्यं स्थानवंशादिसंयुतं ॥ ६४ ॥
स्वदत्ताद्द्विगुणं पुण्यं परदत्तानुपालनं ।
परदत्तापहारेण स्वदत्तं निष्फलं भवेत् ॥ ६५ ॥
पूर्वराजकृता या तु मर्यादा जनजीविका ।
तां न च व्यंसयेद्राजा नाशयन् निंदितो भवेत् ॥ ६६ ॥
मंत्रो विजयमूलं हि राज्ञां भवति नित्यदा ।
अतस्तु मन्त्रिभिर्मंत्रं सह राजा विचिंतयेत् ॥ ६७ ॥
गिरिपृष्ठं समारुह्य प्रासादं वा रहोगतः ।
अरण्ये निश्शलाके वा मन्त्रयेत् पृथिवीपतिः ॥ ६८ ॥
निस्तंभे निर्गवाक्षे च निर्भित्त्यंतरसंश्रये ।
प्रासादाग्रेऽप्यरण्ये ह मन्त्रयेत् सावधानतः ॥ ६९ ॥
यस्य मन्त्रं न जानन्ति समागम्य पृथग्जनाः ।
स चिरं पृथिवीं भुंक्ते कोशहीनोऽपि पार्थिवः ॥ ७० ॥
जडान्धमूकबधिरान् काणाशौण्डाधमानपि ।

स्त्रीम्लेछव्याधितव्यङ्गान् मन्त्रकाले विवर्जयेत् ॥ ७१ ॥
उपायांश्चतुरो युंज्यात् षड्गुणानुदयांश्च त्रीन् ।
तिस्रश्शक्तीश्च सिद्धीश्च मन्त्रयेन्मंत्रिभिस्सह ॥ ७२ ॥
साम दानं च भेदश्च दण्डश्चेति चतुर्विधः ।
उपायस्सर्वकृत्येषु प्रयोज्यो बुद्धिजीविभिः ॥ ७३ ॥
साम पञ्चविधं ज्ञेयं परानुसरणं तथा ।
परस्परोपकारश्च तदीयगुणकीर्तनं ॥(७४)॥
बंधुत्वज्ञापनं स्वात्मसमर्पणमितीव च ।
एवं पंचविधं ज्ञात्वा समासव्यासतस्सुखी ॥ ७५ ॥
दानं पञ्चविधं प्राहुस्स्वधनस्य समर्पणं ।
अन्यद्रव्यग्रहामोदोऽपूर्ववस्तुप्रदानकं ॥(७६)॥
परद्रव्ये प्रेरणं च ऋणमोचनमेव च ।
स्वदौर्बल्ये प्रयोगोऽस्य शत्रुपक्षे स्वयं विधिः ॥ ७७ ॥
भेदस्त्रिधा अन्यतरस्नेहसंपादनं पुरा ।
परस्परं मित्रभेदस्तथा संतर्जनं परं ॥ ७८ ॥
दण्डस्त्रिधार्थहरणं परिक्लेशस्तथैव च ।
देहसंशिक्षणं चेति दण्डभेदाः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥ ७९ ॥
तदात्वायतिसंयुक्तस्संधिर्ज्ञेयो द्विलक्षणः ।
राज्ञा कृतश्च कार्यार्थमकाले काल एव वा ॥ ८० ॥
मित्रेण चैव विकृते द्विविधो विग्रहस्स्मृतः ॥ ८०″॥
एकाकी वाच्यैककारिकार्ये प्राप्ते यदृच्छया ।
संभूय चैव मित्रेण द्विविधं यानमुच्यते ॥ ८१″॥
क्षीणस्य चैव क्रमशो दैवात् पूर्वकृतेन वा ।
मित्रस्य चानुरोधेन द्विविधं कृतमानसं ॥ ८२″॥

बलस्य स्वामिनश्चैव स्थितिकार्यस्य सिद्धये ।
द्विविधं कीर्त्यते द्वैधं तद्गुणागुणवेदिभिः ।
यदावगतं न्यूनत्वमाधिक्यं ध्रुवमात्मनः ॥ ८४ ॥
अर्थसंपीडनार्थं च पीड्यमानस्य शत्रुभिः ।
साधुभिर्व्यपदेशार्थो द्विविधस्तु समाश्रयः ॥ ८५ ॥
क्षयस्स्थानं च वृद्धिश्चेत्युदयस्त्रिविधस्स्मृत ः ।
प्रभुमंत्रोत्साहभेदाच्छक्तिस्तु त्रिविधा मता ॥ ८६ ॥
तत्साध्यसिद्धयस्तिस्रस्तेषु भेदा बहु स्मृताः ।
एतद्धि नीतिसर्वस्वं भूप किं विस्तरेण ते ॥ ८७ ॥
एवं सर्वमिदं राजा सह संमंत्र्य मंत्रिभिः ।
मध्याह्नेऽर्थागमं कृत्वा भोक्तुमन्तःपुरं व्रजेत् ॥ ८८ ॥
सुपरीक्षितमन्नाद्यमद्यान्मन्त्रैर्विषापहैः ।
भुक्त्वा संविहरेच्चैव स्त्रीभिरन्तःपुरे सह ॥ ८९ ॥
धर्मशास्त्रपुराणानि ह्यपराह्णे समभ्यसेत् ।
संध्यां चोपास्य विधिवदग्निं हुत्वा समाहितः ॥(९०)॥
भुक्त्वा भागवतं शास्त्रं पठित्वा ध्यानसंयुतः ।
संविशेच्च यथाकालमुत्तिष्ठेद्विगतक्लमः ॥ ९१ ॥
एवंवृत्तस्य नृपतेर्नीतिमार्गानुसारिणः ।
धर्मार्थकाममोक्षाश्च सिध्येयुर्नात्र संशयः ॥ ९२ ॥
पृथुमेवं प्रशास्यैव ब्रह्मा लोकगुरुस्स्वयं ।
तत्रैवान्तर्दधे देवो दैवतैस्सहितस्तथा ॥ ९३ ॥
वैन्योऽपि तत् तथा चक्रे ब्रह्मप्रोक्तं पुरातनं ।
भुक्त्वा ससागरामुर्वीमन्ते ब्रह्म जगाम हा ॥ ९४ ॥
पारीक्षित त्वमप्येवं कृत्वा सौख्यं भविष्यसि ।

ख्यातिं च लोके संस्थाप्य परां गतिमवाप्स्यसि ॥ ९५ ॥
यावत् कीर्तिर्मनुष्यस्य लोकेषु विचरिष्यति ।
तावद्वर्षसहस्राणि ब्रह्मलोके महीयते ॥ ९६ ॥
पठेच्च य इदं काव्यं शृणुयाद्वा समाहितः ।
ब्राह्मणः क्षत्रियो राजा विशेषेण नराधिपः ॥(९७)॥
वैश्यो वा शूद्रजातीयस्त्रियो राजपरिग्रहाः ।
ते कीर्तिमन्तो भूत्वेह परत्र गतिमाप्नुयुः ॥ ९८ ॥
नीतिशास्त्रमिदं प्रोक्तं मया ते जनमेजय ।
संक्षेपेण गमिष्यामि यत्र व्यासो गुरुर्मम ॥ ९९ ॥
वैशंपायन इत्युक्त्वा तत्रैव स जगाम ह ।
पारीक्षितोऽपि मुमुदे सुनीत्या पालयन् प्रजाः ॥ १०० ॥

इति श्रीमन्नीतिशास्त्रे नीतिप्रकाशिकायां
राजव्यापारकथनं नामाष्टमोऽध्यायः

नीतिप्रकाशिका समाप्ता

Gustav Oppert

II.

THE PREDECESSORS OF THE HIGH COURT OF MADRAS.

(*Continued from page* 53 *of Journal for* 1880.)

CHAPTER III.

The new Charter was dated 24th September 1726 (13 George I), and it was thereby ordained that there should be for ever thereafter within the Town and Factory of Madraspatnam one body politic and corporate by the name of Mayor and Aldermen of Madraspatnam, and that such body politic and corporate should consist of a Mayor and nine Aldermen, seven of which Aldermen at the least, together with the Mayor for the time being, should be natural-born subjects of His Majesty, and the other two Aldermen might be subjects of any other Prince or State in amity with His Majesty: and it was further ordained and appointed that the Mayor and Aldermen for the time being should be, and they were thereby, constituted a Court of Record by the name of the Mayor's Court at Madraspatnam, and they or any three or more of them (whereof the Mayor or the senior Aldermen for the time being to be one) were authorized to try, hear, and determine all civil suits, actions, and pleas between party and party that should arise or happen, or that had already arisen and happened, within the town of Madraspatnam or within any of the factories subject or subordinate to Fort St. George or the Governor and Council of Fort St. George.

The junior of the Council of Fort St. George at the time of the arrival of the Charter, or an exemplification of the

same, at that place, was appointed Sheriff of Fort St. George and the town of Madraspatnam, and for any space within ten miles of the same, for the space of one year, and until another should be duly elected and sworn; and it was ordained and appointed that the Governor or President and Council of Fort St. George, or the major part of them, should yearly, on the 20th day of December, unless the same happened on a Sunday, and then on the next day, assemble themselves and proceed to the election of a new Sheriff, which Sheriff when elected should take the usual oath of office, and the oath of allegiance, and should continue in office during the space of one whole year from the time of such swearing, and until another should be duly elected and sworn into the said office; and that in case any such Sheriff should die in his office, the said Governor or President and Council, or the major part of them, should and might, as soon as conveniently might be, assemble and choose another person to be Sheriff in his room, who should be sworn as aforesaid, and continue in his office for the remainder of the year; and that the said Sheriff thereby appointed, and every other Sheriff to be elected and sworn as aforesaid, should during his and their continuance in such office respectively have full power and authority to execute and make return of all process of the Mayor's Court and of any other Court erected by these Letters Patents within the district aforesaid.

The form of proceeding in civil actions was directed to be as follows :—Upon complaint made in writing to the Court against any person residing or being, or who at the time when the cause of action accrued did reside or be within the said Fort or Town, or the aforesaid Precinct District or Territories thereof, a summons was to be issued directed to the Sheriff requiring the defendant to appear to answer the complaint, and in default of appearance a warrant was to be issued for the defendant's arrest. In case of appearance or

arrest the defendant was to be let out to bail, and in default of finding bail to be detained in custody until he should have found bail, or given security, or should have judgment or sentence given for him. And after such bail found, or security given, or in case the defendant should be detained in custody for want of bail or security, the Court was to proceed to the examination of the matter and cause of complaint, either upon the oaths of witnesses in writing to be by them subscribed and taken in the most solemn manner, or by the voluntary confession of the defendant, and thereupon it should be lawful for the Court to give judgment and sentence according to justice and right, and to award and issue warrants of execution for levying the debt, together with costs of suit, upon the goods and chattels of the defendant; and for want of sufficient distress to imprison the defendant until satisfaction made. In cases where the defendant was not to be found within the jurisdiction of the Court a sequestration might be granted, upon an affidavit or proof verifying the plaintiff's demand, to seize the estate and effects of the defendant, and the same to detain till he should appear and give security; and in case he should not appear within six months (unless it was shown to the Court that he was residing in Great Britain) the Court might proceed to hear and determine the cause.

The Court was authorized to administer oaths and to frame rules of practice, and to appoint clerks and officers, and to do all such other things as should be found necessary for the administration of justice. A table of fees was to be settled by the Court and approved and signed by the Governor, and wrote out fair and kept constantly fixed up in some visible and open part of the room or place where the Court should be held.

An appeal was given from the Mayor's Court to the Governor and Council, who were constituted a Court of

Record for that purpose, and whose determination was to be final if the damages or debt should not exceed the value of one thousand pagodas. In cases exceeding that amount a further appeal was allowed to the King in Council as was usual in cases of appeal from any of the Colonies in the West Indies.

The Governor and the five Senior Members of Council were appointed Justices of the Peace in and for the Town of Madraspatnam and in and for Fort St. George, Fort St. David, Vizagapatam, the Factories on the Coast of Sumatra, and all other Factories subordinate to Fort St. George. They were to hold Quarter Sessions of the Peace four times in the year, and to be a Court of Record in the nature of a Court of Oyer and Terminer and Gaol Delivery for the trying and punishing of all offenders and offences (high treason only excepted) committed within the Town of Madraspatnam, Fort St. George, or any of the Factories subordinate thereto, or within ten English miles of any of them respectively. Their proceedings were to be by indictment or otherwise in the manner used in England, as near as the condition and circumstances of the place and inhabitants would admit.

Similar Corporations and Courts were established at Bombay and Calcutta, and the Governors and Councils of the several Towns and Factories of Madraspatnam, Bombay, and Fort William in Bengal were empowered to make Bye-laws, Rules, and Ordinances for the good government and regulation of the several Corporations, and of the inhabitants of the several towns, places, and factories, respectively, but no such Bye-law, Rule, or Ordinance was to have any effect until approved and confirmed by the Court of Directors.

And, lastly, the Mayor's Courts were authorized to grant Probates of Wills or Letters of Administration of the estates of persons dying within the said Towns or the Factories subor-

dinate thereto, such Letters of Administration to be granted to the next-of-kin; or if there should be no such person residing within the jurisdiction of the Court, then to the principal creditor of the deceased; and for want of any creditor appearing, then to such other person or persons as should be thought proper by the Court.

In the following year all fines set upon any persons by the Courts established by the last-mentioned Charter were granted to the United Company by a Charter dated 17th November 1727 (1 Geo. II).

The Court of Directors sent out with the Charter of 1726 a Book of Instructions with respect to the method of proceeding in all actions and suits as well civil as criminal, and in proving of Wills and granting of Letters of Administration of Intestates' Estates, together with the forms of the several oaths directed by the Charter to be taken, which book was compiled with great care and with the advice and assistance of the ablest lawyers in the several branches of business therein treated of.[40]

It was probably in this Book of Instructions that the doctrine was laid down that by the Charter of 1726 all the common and statute law at that time extant in England was introduced into the Indian Presidencies, and that all the Parliamentary Enactments passed since that period were excluded, unless their extension to India was specially declared. This doctrine has been frequently cavilled at, but, so far as I am aware, has never been seriously disputed, and has long been established beyond all question.[41] On the 27th February 1765 Radachund Muttra, a Hindoo Native of Calcutta, was convicted of forgery by the Mayor's Court, and

[40] General Letter to Madras, 24th January 1753, para. 36, sending another copy of the book.

[41] See the preface to Mr. Longueville Clark's Rules and Orders of the Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal, Calcutta, 1829.

sentenced to be hanged, under the Statutes relating to that crime which were in force in England in 1726;[42] and this precedent was followed on the celebrated trial of Nuncomar before the Supreme Court of Calcutta in 1776, which was afterwards made a matter of impeachment against both the Governor-General, Mr. Warren Hastings, and the Chief Justice, Sir Elijah Impey.

Richard Higginson, Esquire, the first and modern Mayor of Madras appointed by the new Charter, and Messrs. Duncombe Monroe, Robert Woolley, and Thomas Way, three of the first and modern Aldermen thereby appointed, having died before the Charter reached Madras, the President and Council on Monday the 14th August 1727 nominated Mr. John Powney, one of the Aldermen named in the Charter to be the modern Mayor, and Messrs. Thomas Weston William Monsen, John Buekelay and Edward Braistone to be Aldermen, and ordered that Thursday next be appointed for swearing the Mayor and Aldermen and putting the Charter in execution so far as it related to the Mayor's Court.

On Thursday the 17th, being the day appointed, and the Town having received notice accordingly, the new Mayor and Aldermen were sworn in with much ceremony, after having come from the Fort in a grand procession of soldiers with kettle-drums and trumpets, dancing girls with the country music, the Court Attornies on horseback, the Registrar, the Sheriff, and others, followed by the chief gentry of the Town on horseback, through Black Town and Pedda Naick's Petta, to the Company's Garden, where the President and Council were met to receive them. The Governor and the five Senior Councillors, who were to constitute the Court of Oyer and Terminer and Gaol Delivery, were sworn in a few days afterwards.[43]

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[42] Memoirs of Sir Elijah Impey, Appendix No. 1.

[43] Wheeler's Madras, vol. iii, p. 23; and see page 27 for a list of fees made and approved of by the Mayor's Court on the 29th August 1727.

It being considered necessary that there should be a Court of Justice for deciding small debts for the relief of the poor who could not afford the charges necessarily attending the forms of proceedings in the Mayor's Court, and would therefore otherwise be defrauded of their just dues; it was at first determined by the President and Council (11th September 1727) that the five Justices of the Peace appointed by the Royal Charter should be also appointed Justices of the Choultry, and to decide causes not exceeding twenty pagodas in value. It was found, however, that this method would occasion some inconveniences, particularly the subjecting the Members of the Superior Court to an appeal to the Mayor's Court. It was therefore agreed by the Council on the 27th November 1727 that for the future all petty causes should be decided in the Sheriff's Court, and that the Sheriff should decide ultimately without appeal as far as five pagodas, and that he might likewise decide as far as twenty pagodas, allowing the parties a liberty of applying to the Mayor's Court in case they were not satisfied with the Sheriff's award. Also that the register of slaves which was formerly kept by the Justices of the Choultry be now kept by the Sheriff with the former fees, and also that he do keep a register of sales and mortgages of houses as far as one hundred pagodas in value, as was formerly done at the choultry.[44]

These registers appear from the Rules and Regulations made in the time of Mr. Streynsham Master, and which have been already noticed, to have been in existence for some time before 1678, and had been the subject of several subsequent orders. In or about the year 1719 an order was made by Governor Collett for registering all houses and gardens in the Black Town or the adjacent parts in the Mayor's Court or Choultry for the prevention of frauds in sales and mortgages;

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[44] Wheeler's Madras, vol. iii, pp. 25 and 26.

besides which bills of sale wrote in Gentoo on cadjan leaves were to be entered in the register kept by the Town Conicopoly for that purpose.[45] A register of Respondentia Bonds was also established in 1727;[46] and on Wednesday the 11th June 1735 it was resolved by the Governor and Council that notice be given at all the gates and by beat of tom-tom that all persons produce their titles to their lands, houses, &c., within six months; and that "all those whose titles are already registered and certified by any of the Justices shall pay no fees, and those whose titles have been already registered in either the Choultry or Mayor's Court, but not certified, shall pay only the fee due to the Justices; and such who have neither paid that duty nor registered their titles at all shall pay the full fees hereinbefore established; and to prevent delay in the same it is further ordered that notice be given at the same time that the Honorable Company, as proprietors of the soil, will resume into their hands all such houses and grounds as at the expiration of the said term of six months shall not be registered as above directed."[47] One great and principal end proposed by establishing this registry in 1735 was to prevent the Moors purchasing too much in the Black Town, and in prosecution of such purposes the Justices made it a rule to themselves not to register any bill of sale or conveyances to Moormen without the particular leave of the Board. The Moormen, however, evaded the prohibition by procuring some of the Malabars or Gentoos to buy houses for them in their own names, after which the Moormen, under pretence of having lent money on the premises, brought their mortgages to be registered, and by that means possessed and inhabited as uninterruptedly as if the original titles were made to themselves. To put a stop to this

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[45] Wheeler's Madras, vol. ii, p. 314.
[46] Do. do. ii, p. 426.
[47] Do. do. iii, p. 139.

practice it was ordered on the 17th October 1743 that the Justices do not attest or permit any mortgages of the nature of those above described, or of a like tendency, to be registered.[48]

The Sheriff's Court established in 1727 was disapproved of by the Court of Directors, and accordingly on the 21st July 1729 it was determined by the Governor in Council that it be no longer continued, and that the Justices sit weekly at the Choultry for punishing petty offences which were daily committed in the town, and which were of too trivial a nature to be brought before the Quarter Sessions.[49]

On the 7th August 1729 the Deputy Governor and Council of Fort St. David having requested instructions how to prevent the great inconveniences which would arise by their inhabitants being obliged to come up to Madras to get their disputes settled by the Mayor's Court, were advised, when such do arise, to persuade their inhabitants to go to arbitration before the heads of their castes.[50]

The natives of Madras, on the other hand, seem hardly to have appreciated the advantage of residing within easy reach of the Mayor's Court. On the 21st October 1734 the President laid before the Board proposals which he had received from several persons for erecting a weaving town within the Company's bounds by the name of Chindadre Pettah, the fifth of which proposals was: "That the heads of the castes be chosen and have power according to Talabad, and that all disputes about debts or accounts between the inhabitants be decided by them or other arbitrators, and that the inhabitants of the said town shall not be liable to prosecutions in the Courts of Justice in Madras for any action of debt or account, but shall be proceeded against according to the customs of their several castes." The proposals were agreed

48 Wheeler's Madras, vol. iii, p. 322.
49 Do. do. iii, p. 62.
50 *Ibid.*

to, but in considering them it was urged that perhaps some ill-minded people might suggest that the fifth article was an infringement of the Royal Charter as granting an immunity from the jurisdiction of the Courts erected by the authority thereof within the limits assigned them; to which it was answered that it was undoubtedly in the power of the Government, on bringing new people from foreign parts, to agree with them on such terms as they would consent to come in upon, and that the grant proposed was consonant to the instructions which the Honorable Court of Directors have so often ever since the arrival of the Charter given us in their letters, viz., that causes between the natives may and ought to be decided by their own customs among themselves or by Justices or by referees to be appointed by themselves, which can be nothing but the heads so chosen among themselves.[51]

It was probably in consequence of this concession that a petition was presented about the year 1735 in the names of the whole body of inhabitants of Madras—Braminys, Guzaratts, Right and Left Gentoos, and Moors—to Mr. Benyon, the then President, and Council, in which the petitioners complained of the delay and expense of proceedings in the Mayor's Court, and of the right of appeal to England, and, after stating that the Company had consented and ordered that all disputes that happened among themselves should be decided according to their own laws as usual, submitted rules for deciding such cases by arbitration and enforcing awards and orders by the Justices of the Choultry. They also proposed that all matters of dispute within thirty pagodas should be decided by the Justices of the Choultry, and that upon the death of insolvents the Company should be paid before all other creditors as "hath been for many years customary among us."[52]

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[51] Wheeler's Madras, vol. iii, p. 127.

[52] General Letter to Madras, 31st January 1755, para. 106, and copy petition which accompanied it.

An order had been previously made by the Mayor's Court on the 5th June 1733 that causes not exceeding twenty pagodas, or less than five, should be heard in a summary way.[53]

Difficulties appear also to have arisen under the clause of the Charter authorizing the Mayor's Court to grant Probates and Letters of Administration. The Court doubted whether it had power to grant Probate of a Will or Letters of Administration to a Native of India where the deceased was likewise a Native of India; and whether the next-of-kin of Indians could sue persons amenable to the jurisdiction of the Court without having obtained Probate or Letters of Administration, and the two questions were with others submitted by the Court of Directors to Counsel, who advised that the Court might make such grants; and, 2nd, that Probate or Administration should be taken out.[54]

It is probably to this that the following proceedings of the Governor and Council refer :—

"Friday, 16th October 1729. There being some mistakes arisen from the orders this year received from our Honorable Masters relating to proving Wills in the Portuguese Church ; it is agreed that a note be affixed in the several languages at the Sea and Choultry Gates and at the Portuguese Church to explain the same; and to give notice that any person of the Romish Communion is at liberty to take out Probates of Wills or Letters of Administration in that Church, but that they are not compelled to do it. Also that by so doing they are not entitled to a right of suing any subject of England, or other person who is not of

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[53] General Letter to Madras, 11th February 1756, para 28.

[54] General Letter to Madras, 13th March 1761, para. 154. The Judges of the Mayor's Court were not required to be, and in fact never were, persons educated in the knowledge of those laws by which they were bound to decide, and, being justly sensible of their own deficiency, frequently applied to the Court of Directors to lay particular points respecting their jurisdiction before Counsel, and to transmit the opinion of such Counsel to be the guide of their conduct. Seventh Report of the Committee of Secrecy, 6th May 1773.

that Communion, and that although the Priests of that Church are allowed to grant such Probates or Letters of Administration to such as require the same of them, yet they have no authority to examine or decide any controversy between man and man, or to do or execute any other judicial act whatsoever."[55]

The view of the law as to the Wills and Estates of Natives taken by the Company's Counsel continued to be followed till the establishment of the Supreme Court in 1801, the Mayor's Court making no distinction with regard to its ecclesiastical jurisdiction between the British subject and the Native, and the Court of the Recorder that succeeded the Mayor's Court following the practice of making all alike amenable; but the moment the Supreme Court was established the line was drawn, and Probates of Wills and Letters of Administration were not granted in the case of Native estates. After a few years, however (probably during the Chief Justice Sir Thomas Strange's visit to England in 1805-6), the practice was introduced of granting Probates and Administrations to Natives upon their own spontaneous application, but it was repeatedly declared by the Court that in no instance would it cite or use any means towards compelling natives to come in and prove Wills or take out Letters of Administration, or grant them to creditors to the prejudice of the next-of-kin; and in 1812 it was decided that a Native representative of a deceased native was not bound to take out Letters of Administration in order to be entitled to sue in favour of the estate.[56]

The provisions of the Charter extending the authority of the Sheriff and the jurisdiction of the Court of Oyer and Terminer to a space within ten miles of the Town of Madras,

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[55] Wheeler's Madras, vol. iii, p. 64.

[56] Chellummal *v.* Garrow. Strange's Notes of Cases at Madras, vol. ii, p. 1; and see Reg. III of 1802, sec. 16; Reg. V of 1829; Act XIX of 1841; Act XX of 1841; Act XXVII of 1860; the Hindu Wills Act, XXI of 1870; and the Probate and Administration Act, V of 1881.

or any of the Factories subordinate thereto, also gave rise to many disputes and difficulties in consequence of the Company's bounds not extending in all directions to that distance.[57]

The Government appear also to have asserted their right in certain cases to arrest debtors upon the petition of their creditors without any warrant issued from the Mayor's Court.[58]

CHAPTER IV.

In 1746 Madras was taken by the French, and though it was restored in 1749 under the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, yet by reason of such the possession of the French, the Mayor and all or most of the persons who at that time were Aldermen of the Town were dispersed, and were before 1753 either dead, or returned to Great Britain, or settled in other parts of India, whereby, as the Company were advised, the Mayor's Court at Madras, and all and every the powers and authorities given or granted for the administration of Civil Justice there, were dissolved and at an end. It had also been found by experience that there were some defects in the Charter of 1726, and the Company therefore surrendered it to King George II, together with the Charter of 17th November 1727, and obtained in lieu thereof Letters Patent dated the 8th January 1753 (26 George II), establishing new Corporations at each of the three Presidencies, and constituting a Mayor's Court in each of them, and also Courts of Oyer

[57] Proceedings of Government, 19th April 1736, relative to the arrest of an inhabitant of Cuttawauk in Trivitash, a village not two miles from the Fort, but out of the Company's bounds ; and 1st and 3rd June 1742, relative to an assault committed in St. Thomé. Wheeler's Madras, vol. iii, pp. 167, 266. For the mode of proceeding against persons who had committed offences above ten miles distant from any English settlement, see Proceedings of 25th November 1735 and 24th January 1738. Wheeler's Madras, vol. iii, pp. 159, 181.

[58] Proceedings of 19th April 1736. Wheeler's Madras, vol. iii, p. 163.

and Terminer and Gaol Delivery, with some alterations from the former Charter, of which the following are the most important.

Suits between Indian Natives of the respective towns were exempted from the jurisdiction of the Mayor's Court, and were directed to be determined among themselves, unless both parties should by consent submit the same to the determination of the Mayor's Court.

The authority of the Sheriff was limited to the respective towns, and the factories subordinate thereto, omitting the words "and for any space within ten miles of the same," the insertion of which in the old Charter had, as already noticed, given rise to many disputes and difficulties; and the day for his election was altered from the 20th December to the first Tuesday in the same month.

The Court was empowered to determine any suit against the Mayor in the same manner as other suits, but the Mayor was not to sit as a Judge or appear on the bench during the hearing thereof or making any order therein; and if any suit were brought against the Sheriff, the Governor and Council were to appoint a proper person to execute the process and orders of the Court against him.

In case of any suit against the Company, the Court was to issue a summons to the Governor and Council, who were thereupon to appear for the Company, and who were also authorized to institute suits on behalf of the Company; the further proceedings in both cases being the same as in other suits.

All monies, securities, and effects of suitors which should be ordered into Court, or to be paid or deposited for safe custody, were to be paid to or deposited with the Governor and Council, to be by them kept subject to the orders of the Court; and the Court of Directors were authorized to appoint an Accountant-General of the Mayor's Court for carrying such

orders into execution, and keeping the accounts with the Governor and Council and register of the Mayor's Court.

For the recovery of small debts a Court of Requests was directed to be established, and for that purpose the Governor and Council were required to appoint some of the principal inhabitants, not more than twenty-four or fewer than eight, to be Commissioners, to hear and determine in a summary way all actions or suits which should be brought before them, when the debt duty or matter in dispute should not exceed or be more in value than five pagodas.

The Criminal Jurisdiction of the Courts of Oyer and Terminer was stated to be for the trial of offences committed within the said towns, or within any of the factories or places subordinate thereto, omitting the words "or within ten miles of the same" which were contained in the previous Charter.

And it was declared that if by any accident whatever the Company should lose for a time the possession of any of their principal settlements, whereby the proceedings of the Courts or the election of officers should be suspended, and such settlement should afterwards be restored to the Company, the same should not be deemed to be a dissolution of any such Corporation or Court.

It was not long before the event provided for in the last clause occurred. Calcutta was taken by Surajah Dowlah on the 20th June 1756, and continued in his occupation till the 2nd January 1757, when it was retaken by Colonel Clive and Admiral Watson.

In concerting a plan of operations for regaining Calcutta, and obtaining satisfaction for the Company's losses, it was agreed between the officers of the Company on the one part, and the Vice-Admiral and Commanders on board His Majesty's fleet on the other part, assembled in a Council of War, that one moiety of all plunder and booty should be set apart for the use of the captors, and that the other moiety should be

deposited till His Majesty's pleasure should be known; and this reserved moiety was shortly afterwards granted to the Company by a Charter bearing date the 19th September 1757 (31 Geo. II), with the exception of such ships, treasure, and other things as might have been taken from any of His Majesty's subjects, which were to be returned to the owners on payment of salvage. Within four months afterwards His Majesty, by a Charter dated 14th January 1758 (31 Geo. II), granted to the Company all booty and plunder which, since the Charter of 19th September 1757, had been or should be taken or seized from any of the enemies of the Company, or any of His Majesty's enemies in the East Indies, by any ships or forces of the Company within any places or limits of their trade. And it was further granted that they should and might, by any treaty of peace made between them and any of the Indian Princes or Governments, dispose of any fortresses, districts or territories acquired by conquest from any of the said Indian Princes or Governments. Power to punish the mutiny and desertion of officers and soldiers in their service had already been granted to them by the Act 27 Geo. II, c. 9, the provisions of which Act were extended by 1 Geo. III, c. 14, to the Company's Settlement of Fort Marlborough, near Bencoolen on the west coast of Sumatra, where the Company had been empowered by Royal Charter, dated 20th December 1760, to erect and hold Courts of Judicature as well for civil as criminal causes. In the following year they obtained three several Charters or Letters Patent of Commission for the trying of pirates at Fort St. George, Fort Marlborough, and Bombay respectively, dated the 27th January 1761 (1 Geo. III); and a Charter or Letters Patent of Commission for the trying of pirates at Fort William, dated 13th March 1761 (1 Geo. III).

War had been again declared between England and France in 1756. Bussy had easily made himself master of Vizaga-

patam and the other factories of the English in the Northern Circars. The Count de Lally took Fort St. David and laid siege to Madras, but the tide of war soon turned in favor of the English. The siege of Madras was raised by the arrival of an English fleet in February 1759. Colonel Forde, with a body of troops despatched by Clive from Bengal, drove the French out of the Northern Circars, and concluded a treaty with the Nizam, dated 14th May 1759, and subsequently confirmed by a firmaun from the Mogul, dated 13th August 1765, whereby the whole of the Circar of Masulipatam, with eight districts, as well as the Circar of Nizampatam and the districts of Condavir and Wacalmanuer, were given to the English as enam ; and the Nizam engaged that he would not in future suffer the French to have a settlement in the country on any account whatsoever.[59] Pondicherry was taken on the 14th January 1761, and on the 5th of April Gingee surrendered, after which the French had not a single military post in India. This put an end to the war in India. In Europe it was terminated by the Treaty of Paris, definitely signed on the 10th of February 1763, by the 11th Article of which it was agreed that Great Britain should restore to France the different factories which that crown possessed at the beginning of the year 1749. This Article also disposed of the disputes as to who should be the Nabob of the Carnatic, and who should be the Nizam or Subhadar of the Deccan, by providing that in order to preserve future peace on the coasts of Coromandel and Orissa, the English and French should acknowledge Mahomed Ali Khan as lawful Nabob of the Carnatic, and Salabut Jung as lawful Subhadar of the Deccan, and that both parties should renounce all demands and pretensions of satisfaction with which they might charge each other or their Indian allies for the depredation or pillage committed on either side during the war.

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[59] Aitchison's Treaties, vol. v, p. 2.

Mahomed Ali was thus established as Nabob of the Carnatic without a rival, and in consideration of the services rendered him by the English, he conferred upon them districts in the vicinity of Madras yielding an annual revenue of upwards of four and-a-half lakhs of pagodas, and including nearly the same territory as that which now forms the Collectorate of Chingleput. This grant of the Company's jaghire, as it was called, was confirmed by a firmaun from the Mogul, dated the 12th of August 1765.[60]

On the 12th November 1766 a grant was obtained from the Nizam of the Circars of Rajahmundry, Ellore, Moostafurnugger, Siccacole, and Moostizanugger, or Guntoor, and a treaty was entered into, whereby the Company, in return for the gracious favors received from His Highness, agreed to furnish the Nizam with a subsidiary force when required, and to pay nine lakhs a year when the assistance of their troops was not required.[61]

These acquisitions gave rise to violent contentions at Madras as to the extent of the jurisdiction of the Mayor's Court, one party construing the word *factory* in the most extensive latitude, the other taking it in its literal and strict sense. The Council took the latter view, and in writing to the Court of Directors on the subject observed: "If the Charter should be understood in the extended sense, including not only all the old districts, but the newly acquired Jaghire and all the Circars, and consequently that we should be required to govern and manage these countries according to the laws of England, we hope Your Honours will pardon us if we frankly confess that we are utterly unable to undertake such a task. It would be introductive of more disorder and confusion than we can now describe; but as we do not think that the Charter can by any natural construction be extended thus far,

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60 Aitchison's Treaties, vol. v, p. 181.

61 Aitchison's Treaties, vol. v, p. 2.

we have only to hope that it may be understood not to extend beyond the places actually named, without dependencies, that is to say, Madraspatnam or the Black Town, and Fort St. George or the White Town, and so of every other factory. We are of opinion that whether the Company hold their possessions by one tenure or another, it was never intended by the grants to abolish the usages and customs of the people, or the forms of administering justice."

The whole subject was referred by the Directors to the consideration of Counsel, who, after entering very fully into the various points, stated: "I have no doubt that the Charter of Justice does not extend to any territories or places acquired since that Charter was granted; consequently the Presidency of Madras may be relieved from their apprehensions that the Jaghire lands are within their jurisdiction. The extent of this power seems to be very exactly described in the 45th paragraph of their general letter."[62]

A great dispute had also arisen over a claim of the Mayor's Court to be entitled to succeed to the effects of the former Mayor's Court, including a sum of pagodas 606-9-48, the produce of the maces, palanquin tassels, and other such ensigns of the former Court, which had been saved at the loss of the place; and all of which were provided for the new Mayor's Court at the Company's expense; also 2,000 pagodas lent to Mrs. Smith on a mortgage; also a legacy left by Mr. Jennings to the former Mayor's Court by his Will proved in London in December 1752; also the godown-rents which were part of the revenue appropriated for the support of the former Mayor's Court, but had been assigned back to the Company upon their agreeing again to take the maintenance of the Courts upon themselves; and the Town Hall in which the Court was held, and which was claimed as purchased with money belonging to suitors in the former Mayor's Court.

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[62] Auber's Rise and Progress of the British Power in India, vol. i, p. 261.

The Court of Directors repudiated these claims, and insisted upon the Court's making or passing a formal declaration or Act under their seal that the Town Hall was the property of the Company, upon which the Court of Directors would indemnify them against any demands of the suitors of the late Court, as far as the amount of the cash which had been paid into the Company's Treasury on account of those suitors, and also the amount of the before-mentioned 2,000 pagodas and the interest thereof, and would take upon themselves the expense of repairing and maintaining the Court-house, and of the Mayor's Court; and they further desired and directed that the Commissioners of the Court of Request and their officers might have proper places to sit and do their business in, and that the Court of Request should not be considered as subordinate to or under the direction of the Mayor's Court.[63]

This was communicated by the Government to the Mayor's Court on the 27th October 1762, and was answered by a letter from the Registrar of the Mayor's Court, dated 15th December 1863, expressed in a style which Government considered very unsuitable to the circumstances the Mayor's Court was in with respect to the Honorable Company. In reply the Government, after pointing out that the first Corporation was empowered to purchase, inherit, levy duties, &c., in order to enable them to erect public buildings and support the expenses necessary to the execution of their powers as a Mayor's Court and Corporation, and that it was from this grant of the Company that the Corporation first laid the foundation of a property, but that when it was afterwards found that the revenues of the Corporation were insufficient to answer these purposes, the whole was relinquished to the Company, who in consequence undertook to maintain the Court and Corporation, informed the Mayor's Court that the Government must persist in the

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[63] General Letter to Madras, 27th January 1762, para. 64.

demand of the Corporation's giving up the legacy of Mr. Jennings, as well as placing the other moneys into cash as proposed by the Registrar's letter, to enable them to do which the sums laid out in the purchase and repairs of the Town House would be advanced to them from the Company's cash on a proper conveyance of the said house to the Company.[64]

The Mayor's Court acceded to this and a formal deed of conveyance was taken from them, but the arrangement was not approved of by the Court of Directors, who reiterated their demand for a declaration or Act that the Town Hall was the property of the Company. With respect to Major Jennings' legacy, they considered that no difficulty could arise upon it. The money had been paid in, and they had no objection to its being laid out in the repairs of the Court-house, or in something useful to the Mayor's Court, but they expected that Government should be consulted in the application of it.[65]

Ultimately the parties agreed to abide by the opinion of Counsel, and a case was accordingly laid by the Court of Directors before Charles Sayer, Esq., their standing Counsel, who advised that by the surrender of the former Charter the Courts of Justice, according to the terms of the next Charter, ceased, together with all the powers given by the former Charter, and a new Original Court of Justice was established as independent of the former as if no such former had ever existed, and that consequently the then Mayor's Court could have no rights antecedent to its own creation derived from the former Mayor's Court or otherwise; and if so it was free from all doubt that the new Mayor's Court had no right to the Town House, the legacy, or the Regalia of the former Court; and as the legacy had been paid in, that and the Regalia must belong to the East India Company, who were most certainly answerable to the suitors in the former Mayor's Court for their

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[64] Minutes of Consultation, 20th December 1763.

[65] Letter to Madras, 15th February 1765.

money paid into the Company's cash. The Court of Directors in their letter forwarding a copy of this opinion to Fort St. George say: "We expect that an Instrument or Act do pass under the seal of the Mayor's Court containing a declaration that the Town House and the Regalia are the absolute right and property of the Company, and that they pay into you immediately Mr. Jennings' legacy, which they have received and withhold without any colour of right. With respect to the conclusion of their letter to you we do not think it worthy of our notice."[66]

An idea of the acrimony with which the dispute was carried on may be formed from the following passage in paragraph 67 of the General Letter of 27th January 1762 already quoted: "We desire that the Register of the Court may be permitted to examine the transcripts of the paragraphs in our letters which you send them with the originals, taking care that no other parts of our letters be inspected by him."

The Mayor's Court appears to have applied to the Government for a law library, for the following passage occurs in the General Letter to Madras of 23rd January 1759, paragraph 92:—

"The only book we think can be of real use to the Mayor's Court in the list now sent over is Jacobs' Law Dictionary, which we will take care to transmit, together with a book concerning the office of a Justice of the Peace, called Burn's Justice, which we are informed is the best practical book of that kind now extant."

CHAPTER V.

The additions to the Company's territories in the neighbourhood of the factories subject to Fort St. George fell far short both in extent and value of their acquisitions in Bengal; and a great change in the relative importance of Madras and

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[66] Letter to Madras, 24th March 1767.

Calcutta was caused by the Moguls conferring upon the Company on the 12th August 1765 the Dewanny of Bengal, Bahar and Orissa. This led also to a greatly increased interference of Parliament in the affairs of the Company, and, after an enquiry by two Parliamentary Committees, to the passing of the Statute of 13 George III, c. 63, commonly called the Regulating Act, from its being the first legislative measure which prescribed any definite system for the conduct of the Company's affairs.[67]

By this Act a Governor-General and four Councillors were appointed for the government of the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal, and for the ordering, management, and government of all the territorial acquisitions and revenues in the Kingdom of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, and they were authorized to superintend and control the government and management of the Presidencies of Madras, Bombay, and Bencoolen [68] so far and in so much that it should not be lawful for any President and Council of Madras, Bombay, or Bencoolen to make any orders for commencing hostilities, or declaring or making war against any Indian Princes or powers, or for negociating or concluding any treaty with any such Indian Princes or powers without the consent and approbation of the Governor-General and Council.

Warren Hastings, Esquire, it was enacted, should be the first Governor-General, and Lieutenant-General John Clavering, the Honorable George Monson, Richard Barwell, Esquire, and Philip Francis, Esquire, the four first Councillors; the power of nominating the succeeding Governor-General and Council being vested in the Court of Directors.

The King was empowered to establish by Charter or letters patent under the Great Seal a Supreme Court of Judicature

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[67] Auber, vol. i, pp. 338, 440.

[68] Bencoolen was ceded to the King of the Netherlands by Treaty dated the 17th March 1824.

at Fort William, to consist of a Chief Justice and three [69] other Judges, being Barristers in England or Ireland of not less than five years standing, to be named from time to time by His Majesty, his heirs and successors; and it was enacted that upon the publication of the new Charter, the Charter of 1753, so far as it related to the establishment of the Mayor's Court in Calcutta should cease, determine, and be absolutely void, but should in all other respects, and as for and concerning all or any other of the Company's principal Presidencies or Settlements, continue, be, and remain in full force and virtue.

The Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal was accordingly established by Royal Charter dated the 26th March 1774; Elijah Impey, of Lincoln's Inn, Esquire, being thereby appointed the first Chief Justice, and Robert Chambers, of the Middle Temple, Stephen Cæsar Le Maistre of the Inner Temple, and John Hyde of Lincoln's Inn, Esquires, the first Puisne Justices. The jurisdiction of the Court was more clearly declared and defined a few years afterwards by the Statute 21 Geo. III, c. 70.

The Mayor's Court at Madras and Bombay continued in existence without any material alteration till 1797; but meantime a great change was made in the constitution of the East India Company, and a considerable addition was made to their territorial possessions in Madras; the Rajah of Tanjore having granted to them, by a Sunnud dated the 17th June 1778, a jaghire in the vicinity of Negapatam, consisting of 277 villages or small towns, including the town and seaport of Nagore; and the districts of Calicut, Paulghautcherry, Dindigul, Salem and Baramahal having been ceded to the Company by the treaty of peace concluded with Tippoo Sultan on the 18th March 1792. Negapatam, which was

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[69] Reduced to two by 37 Geo. III, c. 142, s. 1.

taken from the Portuguese by the Dutch in 1660, was annexed to the British dominions in 1781.[70]

The change in the constitution of the Company was effected in 1784 by the Statute 24 Geo. III, c. 25. The King was thereby authorized to appoint Commissioners for the affairs of India, commonly called the Board of Control, who were to have the superintendence and control over all the British territorial possessions in the East Indies, and over the affairs of the United Company of Merchants trading thereto. The number of the Governor-General's Councillors was reduced to three, including the Commander-in-Chief, who was to have voice and precedence in Council next after the Governor-General, but was not to succeed to the office in the event of a casual vacancy, unless thereunto specially appointed by the Court of Directors. The Court of Directors were required to appoint, from among the servants of the Company in India, or any other persons, a fit and proper person to be the Governor of the Presidency or Settlement of Fort St. George, and two other fit and proper persons from amongst the servants in India, who, together with the Commander-in Chief at Fort St. George for the time being, should be the Council of the same Presidency or Settlement; and also, in like manner, to appoint fit and proper persons to be the Governor and Council of Bombay. And it was enacted that all His Majesty's subjects, as well servants of the said United Company as others, should be amenable to all Courts of Justice (both in India and Great Britain) of competent jurisdiction to try offences committed in India, for all acts, injuries, wrongs, oppressions, trespasses, misdemeanors, crimes, and offences whatsoever, by them or any of them done, or to be done or committed, in any of the lands or territories of any Native Prince or State, or against their persons or properties, or the persons or properties of any

[70] Aitchison's Treaties, vol. v, pp. 147, 259.

of their subjects or people, in the same manner as if the same had been done or committed within the territories directly subject to and under the British Government in India. This Act also established a Parliamentary Court of Judicature for the more speedy and effectual trial of persons accused of offences committed in the East Indies, and required all the servants of the Company, upon their return from India, to give an inventory of the property which they had realized in that country; a provision which was repealed by the 26 Geo. III, c. 57, s. 31.

By the 26 Geo. III, c. 16, the provision that the Commander-in-Chief should *ex-officio* be a member of Council was repealed, and chiefly with a view to the appointment of Lord Cornwallis to be Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief, it was declared that nothing in this or any former Act contained should extend to preclude the Court of Directors from appointing the Commander-in-Chief of the Company's forces in India to be Governor-General or a Member of the Supreme Council; or from appointing the Commanders-in-Chief of Fort St. George and Bombay to be Presidents or Members of the Councils of their respective Presidencies; or from appointing any Governor-General or Governor to be a Commander-in-Chief.

By the 26 Geo. III, c. 57, several alterations were made in the constitution of and method of procedure in the Parliamentary Court established by 24 Geo. III, c. 25. It was enacted (s. 29) that as well the servants of the said United Company as all other of His Majesty's subjects resident in India should be amenable to the Courts of Oyer and Terminer and Gaol Delivery, and Courts of General or Quarter Sessions of the Peace in any of the British Settlements in India for all murders, felonies, wrongs and other misdemeanors, offences, and injuries whatsoever by them done, committed or perpetrated in any of the countries or parts of Asia, Africa, or America, beyond the Cape of Good

Hope to the Straits of Magellan, within the limits of the exclusive trade of the said United Company. And it was further enacted and declared (s. 30) that the Governor or President and Council of Fort St. George for the time being, in their Courts of Oyer and Terminer and Gaol Delivery and Quarter or General Sessions of the Peace, and also the Mayor's Court at Madras according to their several and respective judicatures, should have cognizance and jurisdiction as well civil as criminal, over all British subjects whatsoever who then resided or should thereafter reside within any of the forts, factories, towns, lands or territories in the possession of the Company on the Coast of Coromandel, or in any other part of the Carnatic or the five Northern Circars including those parts of the said Circars which lie within the Kingdom or Province of Orissa, or within any of the dominions or territories of the Soubahdar of the Deccan, the Nabob of Arcot, or the Rajah of Tanjore.

In 1793 the British Law relating to India and to the East India Company was to a considerable extent consolidated by the 33 Geo. III, c. 52, commonly called the Charter Act. A great part of the former Statutes was repealed (s. 146); the possession of the territorial acquisitions and revenue and the exclusive trade were continued in the East India Company until the expiration of three years; notice to be given by Parliament at any time after 1st March 1811, and payment of what might be due from the Public to the Company; the Board of Control was reconstituted; the Government of Bengal was vested in a Governor-General and three Councillors, and the Governments of Madras and Bombay respectively in a Governor and three Councillors; [71] and the Governor-General

[71] By the 39 and 40 Geo. III, c. 79, s. 1, the Court of Directors were empowered to declare and appoint what parts of the territorial acquisitions of the Company should be subject to each Presidency, and the Courts of Judicature established therein respectively.

in Council was empowered to superintend the other Presidencies, who were to obey his orders if not repugnant to instructions from England. Provision was made for "a just principle of promotion amongst the covenanted servants of the Company in India on their Civil Establishment." Receiving gifts by any British subject holding any employment under the King or the Company in the East Indies was declared to be a misdemeanor; provided always that nothing in the Act contained should extend to prevent any person exercising the profession of Counsellor-at-law, Physician, or Surgeon, or any Chaplain, from taking or receiving fees, gratuities, or rewards (*bonâ fide*) in the way of his profession only.[72] The provision of the 24 Geo. III, c. 25, that all His Majesty's subjects should be amenable to Courts of Justice in Great Britain and India for offences committed in the territories of Native Princes, was re-enacted. No British subjects were to be allowed to reside more than ten miles from a principal settlement without a special license in writing. Any subject of His Majesty who not being lawfully licensed or authorized should go to or be found in the East Indies was declared to be guilty of a high crime and misdemeanor, and might be arrested and sent to England for trial. The Governor-General, Governors, and Members of Council of the several Presidencies were prohibited from trading except on account of the Company, and the Judges of the Supreme Court from being concerned in any trade or traffic whatever. Power was given to the Governor-General in Council to appoint such and so many of the Covenanted Servants of the Company or other British inhabitants, as he should think properly qualified, to act as Justices of the Peace for Bengal, Madras and Bombay, but such Justices were not to sit in Courts of Oyer and Terminer

[72] A similar provision and exception was contained in the 13 Geo. III, c. 63, ss. 23, 24, 25; and S. 3 and 4 W. IV, c. 85, s. 76.

unless called upon to do so by the Judges of the Court. The Governor-General in Council at Fort William and the Governors in Council at Madras and Bombay were authorized to appoint such persons being British subjects as they should think fit to be Coroners for their respective Presidencies with the same powers as Coroners in England. The Justices of the Peace were to provide for the cleansing, watching, and repairing the streets of the towns or factories of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay; and for defraying the expenses thereof to make and levy assessments on the owners or occupiers of houses, buildings, and grounds in the said towns or factories. No spirituous liquors were to be sold in Calcutta, Madras, or Bombay without a license from the Justices; and the Governments of the several Presidencies were to declare and prescribe the limits and extent of their respective Presidency Towns.

No question as to the extent or limits of the Town of Madras appears to have arisen until the establishment of the Court of the Recorder, when, by an order of the Governor in Council, dated the 2nd November 1798, the day after the Proclamation of the Charter by which the Court of the Recorder was established, it was resolved and ordered that the southern limits should be the southern bank of the St. Thomé River as far as the road leading to the Long Tank; that the limits should then be continued in a northern direction along the bank of the Long Tank; and from thence along the bank of the Nungumbaukum Tank as far as the village of Chettoopet upon the banks of the Ponamaly River; that the limits should be continued in the same direction to the villages of Kilpaukum and Perimboor, and from the latter village to take an eastern direction to the sea so as to include the whole village of Tondiarpetta.

This order was some years afterwards characterized by Sir Thomas Strange as upon the whole a well meant one, the

object on the part of Government being to give, by virtue of the power vested in it by Parliament, as great a local extent to the jurisdiction of the new Court as it well could, though it had certainly taken a range not intended by the Legislature, and had given more than the Court could have contended for.[73]

No one, however, objected to it as an order defining the limits of the jurisdiction of the Court, which it was its professed object to define, but when it came to the question whether it did not operate to extend the assessment which the Justices of the Peace were empowered to levy by 33 Geo. III, c. 52, the lawyers, several of whom appear to have owned houses at some little distance from the Black Town, were strenuous in their objections. Conspicuous among them was Mr. Justice Sullivan, who had been the Advocate-General at Madras when the order in question was made, and was, in all probability, the person by whom it was framed. He refused to pay the assessment upon a house belonging to him in the village of Tanampettah, and upon a warrant of distress being issued, and the amount distrained, he brought an action of trespass against the Justices. That action was discontinued on his death by his executors, but a similar one was brought a few years afterwards by Mr. Compton (afterwards Sir Herbert Compton, Chief Justice of Bombay) upon a like ground with reference to a house belonging to him in the same village, and it was then decided that although the assessment commenced in 1793, and the house in question had not been included till 1809, when the houses, buildings, and grounds without the Black Town of Madras, and within the limits defined in the order of the 2nd November 1798, were for the first time assessed, the order did involve assessment as a consequence, however little, in contemplation to such an extent

[73] Compton *v.* Gahagan, Strange's Notes of Cases at Madras, vol. ii, p. 8.

either by the Legislature originally, or by the Government when the order was framed.[74]

Power was subsequently given by the Statute 55 Geo. III, c. 84, s. 1, to the Governments of Fort William, Madras, and Bombay to extend the limits of their respective Presidency Towns from time to time as circumstances should in their judgment require; but this power has not been exercised in Madras, and the local limits of the jurisdiction of the High Court are the same now as those that were fixed for the Court of the Recorder more than eighty years ago.[75]

The above-mentioned provisions of the Statute 33 Geo. III, c. 52, by which power was given to the Governor-General in Council to appoint Justices of the Peace for Madras and Bombay, were repealed in 1807 by the Statute 47 Geo. III, c. 68, which declared the Governors and Members of Council for the time being of Fort St. George and Bombay, respectively, to be and to have full power and authority to act as Justices of the Peace for the Towns of Madras and Bombay, respectively, and for the several settlements and factories subordinate thereto, respectively, and to do and transact all matters and things which to the office of a Justice or Justices of the Peace do belong and appertain; and for that purpose to hold Quarter Sessions within the said settlements of Fort St. George and Bombay, respectively, four times in every year, and that the same should respectively be at all times Courts of Record. And it was further enacted that it should be lawful for the Governor in Council of Fort St. George and the Governor in Council of Bombay, respectively, for the time being by commissions issued under the seals of the Supreme Court of Judicature of Fort St. George

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[74] Compton *v.* Gahagan, Strange's Notes of Cases at Madras, vol. ii, p. 8.

[75] Reg. II of 1802, s. 12; General Rules of the Supreme Court, 1849, No. VIII; Charter of the High Court, 26th June 1862, cl. 11; Amended Letters Patent, 28th December 1865, cl. 11.

and the Court of the Recorder of Bombay, respectively, in the name of the King's Majesty, his heirs and successors to nominate and appoint such and so many of the covenanted servants of the East India Company or other British inhabitants as the said Governor in Council of Fort St. George and the said Governor in Council of Bombay, respectively, should think properly qualified to act as Justices of the Peace within and for the said Provinces and Presidencies and places thereto subordinate respectively.

It will have been observed that under these statutes the only persons capable of being appointed Justices of the Peace were the covenanted servants of the Company or other British inhabitants, and so the law continued down to 1832, when by the Statute 2 and 3 William IV, c. 117, the Governor-General in Council and the Governors in Council of Madras and Bombay, respectively, were authorized to appoint any persons resident within the territories in the possession and under the Government of the East India Company, and not being the subjects of any foreign States, whom the said Governor-General in Council and Governors in Council, respectively, should think properly qualified, and who would bind themselves by such oaths or solemn affirmations as might from time to time be prescribed in that behalf by the said Governor-General in Council and Governors in Council, respectively, to act within and for the towns of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, respectively, as Justices of the Peace; and it was enacted that the persons so to be nominated and appointed to act as Justices of the Peace within and for the towns aforesaid should have full power and authority to act as such Justices of the Peace, but according only to the tenor of the respective commissions wherein such persons shall be so nominated and appointed.

CHAPTER VI.

In 1797 the Legislature being of opinion that an approximation to the Supreme Court in Bengal was desirable for the other two Settlements, the Statute 37 Geo. III, c. 142, was passed, whereby the King was authorized to establish by Charter or Letters Patent under the Great Seal, Courts of Judicature at Madras and Bombay respectively, which should consist of the Mayor and three of the Aldermen resident at Madras and Bombay respectively for the time being, together with one other person at each of the said Settlements to be named from time to time by His Majesty, his heirs and successors, which said person should be a Barrister of England or Ireland of not less than five years' standing, and should be the President of the said Court, and be styled the Recorder of Madras and Bombay respectively. The new Courts were to have full power and authority to do all things necessary for the administration of justice, and it was declared that they should be at all times Courts of Oyer and Terminer and Gaol Delivery in and for Fort St. George and the Town of Madras, and the limits thereof, and the factories subordinate thereto, and in and for the Town and Island of Bombay, and the limits thereof, and the factories subordinate thereto respectively.

The jurisdiction was declared to extend to all British subjects residing within any of the factories subject to or dependent upon the Governments of Madras and Bombay respectively, and the said Courts were to have full power and authority, according to their respective jurisdictions, to hear and determine all suits and actions whatsoever against any of His Majesty's subjects arising in territories subject to or dependent upon the said Governments of Madras and Bombay respectively, or within any of the dominions of the Native

Princes of India in alliance with the said Governments respectively, or against any person who, at the time when the cause of action should have arisen, should have been employed by, or been directly or indirectly in the service of, the East India Company or any of the subjects of His Majesty, his heirs or successors; and also full power to hear and determine all suits and actions that might be brought against the inhabitants of Madras and Bombay respectively; but their inheritance and succession to lands, rents, and goods, and all matters of contract and dealing between party and party, were to be determined, in the case of Mahomedans by the laws and usages of the Mahomedans, and where the parties were Gentoos by the laws and usages of the Gentoos, or by such laws and usages as the same would have been determined by if the suit had been brought in a Native Court, and where one of the parties should be a Mahomedan or Gentoo by the laws and usages of the defendant.

In pursuance of this Act the Court of the Recorder of Madras was established by Letters Patent under the Great Seal of Great Britain, bearing date at Westminster the 20th day of February 1798 (38 Geo. III) and published at Madras on the 1st of November following. The records of the Mayor's Court thereupon became records of the new Court, which took up the causes depending at the time in the Mayor's Court and proceeded to their final adjudication. It superseded in like manner the judicial powers till then vested in the Governor in Council, whether as a Criminal Court or as exercising an appellate jurisdiction from the Mayor's Court, with a like transfer of the records of each. The appeals depending before the Governor in Council devolved upon the Court of the Recorder. The Mayor's Court not having had jurisdiction over the natives, except when by their contracts and engagements with one another they had agreed to submit to it, a Cutcherry had been established by the Governor in

Council for the settlement of their disputes about eighteen months previous to the arrival of the new Charter. The expediency of such an institution ceasing, its functions also ceased; the Government returning to such suitors as had causes depending in it at the time the fee they had been obliged to advance for the purpose of carrying them on, and leaving it to them to renew them as they might be advised under the new Charter. The papers of the Cutcherry were deposited by the Government with the Recorder.[76] The Mayor's Court having consisted of a Mayor and nine Aldermen, the Court of the Recorder was composed of the Mayor and three of the Aldermen, the Recorder presiding. His presence was made generally essential to the exercise of the Court's jurisdiction, but with a power of delegating his authority to the other members of the Court in his absence. The Recorder, either with the Mayor or with any one of the Aldermen, constituted a Court for every purpose of the Charter. The jurisdictions created by it were similar to those of the Supreme Court at Calcutta, and the details very much the same. In settling the appointments of the Court, it was determined not to have Pundits or Moulavies as referees in Native Law, but to trust rather to other sources of information as questions in either Code might arise. The same course in this respect was followed in the Supreme Court,[77] but in the Court of Sudder and Foujdary Adawlut and the Courts subordinate thereto, which were established about the same time for the administration of justice in the Mofussil, Mahomedan and Hindu Law Officers were until 1864 required to attend to expound the law of their respective

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[76] 11th October 1799. Correspondence, vol. i, pp. 167, 168. A search was made lately for these papers among the records of the High Court, but they were not found.

[77] Preface to Sir Thomas Strange's Notes of Cases at Madras.

persuasions in cases in which recourse might be required to be had to it.[78]

The Recorder of the new Court, Sir Thomas Andrew Strange, son of the eminent engraver Sir Robert Strange, and who had officiated as Chief Justice at Halifax in British America, landed at Madras on the 28th September 1798, having sailed from Portsmouth in March. On the 26th October he applied to the Governor in Council for a suitable building for holding the new Court, the Mayor's Court-house being inconvenient and insecure; and after having been offered the house appropriated to the late Court of Cutcherry in the Black Town, which was found not to be large enough, he was given on the 2nd November the upper part of a house then lately occupied by Mr. Baker in the Fort, and which is believed to have been part of the building now the Arsenal near the south gate.

The following Proclamation was issued on the 1st of November:—

George the Third by the Grace of God of Great Britain, France and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, and so forth.

Whereas His Most Gracious Majesty by his Letters Patent bearing date at Westminster the 20th day of February in the 38th year of his reign did of his especial grace think fit to direct and ordain that a new Court of Judicature should be established for the Settlement of Madraspatnam and the factories and territories subordinate thereto and dependent thereon which should be called "the Court of the Recorder of Madraspatnam" and should be holden by and before one Principal Judge who should be called "the Recorder of Madraspatnam" and should be the President of the said Court and by and before the Mayor and three of the Aldermen

[78] Reg. III of 1802, s. 16; XI of 1802; III of 1808; VII of 1822; XXVII of 1836; XI of 1864; XII of 1880 (The Kazi's Act, 1880).

of Madraspatnam to be from time to time selected in rotation to be Assistant Judges thereof and His Majesty in and by the same Letters Patent was graciously pleased to constitute and appoint Sir Thomas Strange, Knight, to be the first Recorder of the said Court and whereas the said Recorder Mayor and Aldermen in pursuance of His Majesty's Letters Patent have this day assembled themselves in the Town Hall of Madras and after having caused the same Letters Patent to be read and published have proceeded to qualify themselves for the execution of the several powers and authorities thereby vested in them by taking the oaths and subscribing the declarations therein directed to be taken and subscribed. This is therefore to proclaim and publish that the Court of the Recorder of Madras is in due manner constituted and established and that all the judicial powers and authorities heretofore exercised by the Mayor's Court at Madras and by the Governor and Council as a Court of Appeal for the same and by the Court of Oyer and Terminer and Gaol Delivery have by virtue of the directions contained in His Majesty's Letters Patent thereby ceased and determined and that all Civil Criminal and Admiralty jurisdiction will henceforth be exercised in the Court of Recorder of Madras in the manner and to the extent by the same Letters Patent directed and prescribed of which all persons are hereby commanded and enjoined to take notice.

God save the King.

Extract from His Majesty's Charter, bearing date 20th of February, 38th year of His Reign.

"And we do further hereby strictly charge and command all Governors and Commanders Magistrates and Ministers Civil and Military and all other our faithful and liege subjects whatsoever in and throughout the British Territories and possessions in the East Indies and the Counties Districts and places which now

are or shall be hereafter dependent thereon or subject or subordinate to the British Government there that in the execution of the several powers jurisdictions and authorities hereby granted and given or created they be aiding assisting and obedient in all things as they will answer the contrary at their peril.

"Fort St. George, 1st November 1798, published by order of the Right Honorable the Governor in Council.

(Signed) J. WEBBE,
Secretary to Government.

Upon the opening of the Court on the 3rd November 1798, the following practitioners of the Mayor's Court were admitted and enrolled as Advocates and Attornies, and the oaths of office and allegiance were accordingly administered to them, each swearing that he would well and truly demean himself to the best of his knowledge and ability as an Advocate and Attorney of the Court :—

Name.	Date of Arrival at the Presidency.	Date of Admission as a Practitioner of the Mayor's Court.
James Stuart Hall.	December 1755 as a Cadet.	24th May 1788 (under covenants).
George Chalmer ..	June 1788 with leave of Directors.	26th December 1788 (do.)
Robert Williams ..	September 1785 as a Cadet, afterwards in 19th Dragoons.	1st December 1789 (do.)
Emanuel Samuel ..	June 1791 as a Surgeon in the Company's service.	September 1792 (do.)
Gilbert Ricketts ..	September 1791 as a Cadet.	December 1792 (do.)
George Macmahon.	March 1795 with leave of Directors.	8th April 1796 (do.)
James Sutherland..	August 1792	13th December 1796 (do.)
Herbert Abingdon Draper Compton.	June 1790, Lieutenant, 74th Regiment, till August 1796.	5th September 1797 (do.)
Fownes Disney ..	December 1797	27th February 1798 (do.)
Charles Walters ..	August 1797 with leave of Directors.	20th March 1798.
Michael James ..	August 1798 do. ..	30th August 1798.

The following gentlemen, who had been licensed by the Court of Directors pursuant to the Charter of 1798, were also admitted :—Alexander Anstruther and Charles Maitland Bushby, Barristers of Lincoln's Inn, who had arrived at Madras in September 1798, and Walter Grant and Robert Orme, Attornies-at-Law, who arrived in February 1799.

All these gentlemen were practising as Advocates, Attornies, Solicitors, Proctors and Notaries Public in 1799, and continued to do so till the opening of the Supreme Court in the year 1801. Eight of them were at first excluded from the offices of Notary Public and Proctor notwithstanding the remonstrances of Sir Thomas Strange, who was in favour of admitting the whole of the profession to a participation in these offices; but in the first term of 1799, when a new set of Aldermen had been appointed, the practitioners in question were, upon a petition for that purpose, admitted and sworn in.

The following were the officers of the Court:—

Master in Chancery.—Emanuel Samuel, late one of the Advocates of the Court, on a salary of 150 pagodas a month.[79]

Accountant-General.—Cecil Smith, Senior Merchant and late Accountant-General of the Mayor's Court.

Clerk of the Crown and Register of the Court of Admiralty. —Stephen Dinely Totton, Barrister of Lincoln's Inn, on a salary of 150 pagodas a month.

Prothonotary and Register.—Gilbert Ricketts, late one of the Advocates of the Court.

Deputy Prothonotary and Register.—John Abbott, late Deputy Register of the Mayor's Court.

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[79] The single instance in which a new office was created, and for which a salary entirely new was required.—Letter from Sir Thomas Strange to the Governor and Council, dated 7th January 1799.

Examiner.—George Lys, late Examiner in the Mayor's Court and a Captain in H.M.'s 74th Regiment till January 1797.

Sealer.—L. H. Sterling, late Lieutenant in H.M.'s 7th Regiment.

Clerk to the Recorder.—Mausf. Plenderhatt, arrived in Madras 29th September 1798.

Interpreter for Malabar and Gentoo.—Runganadum, late the same in the Mayor's Court, pagodas 25 a month.

Interpreter for Persian, Portuguese and Moors.—William Lewcock, ditto pagodas 25 a month.

Interpreter for Guzzerat and Mahratta.—Madow Row, ditto pagodas 2 a month.

Interpreter for French and Dutch—John L. Heefke, ditto pagodas 5 a month.

Two Serjeants and Mace-bearers, pagodas 15 each.

Mr. Sulivan, afterwards Sir Benjamin Sulivan, Puisne Judge of the Supreme Court, was Advocate-General, and Mr. Robert Williams, who had been the Company's Solicitor in the Mayor's Court, continued to hold the same office in the Court of the Recorder.

The following are the names of the gentlemen who held the offices of Mayor and Sheriff during the existence of the Court of the Recorder.

1798,	Mayor,	William Abbott;	Sheriff,	W. Hesse Gordon.
1799,	Do.	Alex. Cockburn;[80]	do.	William Cochell.
1800,	Do.	Richard Chase;[81]	do.	William Fraser.
1801,	Do.	Richard Yeldham;	do.	J. Binny.

[80] "If the new Court has hitherto in any material decree answered His Majesty's gracious purpose in erecting it, it must be confessed to be eminently owing to the countenance and services of the present Mayor, Mr. Alexander Cockburn."—Letter from Sir Thomas Strange to Mr. Dundas, 10th October 1799; Correspondence, p. 138.

[81] Mr. Chase resigned on the 29th March and was succeeded by Mr. Henry Sewell, who died before the 4th July and was succeeded by Mr. Benjamin Roebuck.

At first and for some time subsequent to the publication of the Charter the Court sat twice a week for the hearing of causes and motions according to the practice of the Mayor's Court, the members of which were associated as Judges in the Court of the Recorder; and it was endeavored to administer justice upon plain statements by the parties or their advisers, and in a course divested as much as possible of technical forms, pursuant to the advice of the Lord Chancellor Rosslyn upon his being consulted by the Recorder on the subject before he left England, viz.: in establishing a course of proceeding under the Charter, to look neither to the one side nor to the other side of Westminster Hall, but to keep substantial justice, and that only, in view. Various causes however militated against the persevering in such a course, and it was soon found necessary, first, to adopt the established forms of pleading according to the respective jurisdictions; secondly, to substitute terms.

The succession of terms fixed by the first rule of the Recorder's Court required the Court to sit in the months of January, June and July, but after the experience of a year it was found that the overpowering heat of the land-wind season made it desirable during the months of June and July to intermit all attendance in Court, and, upon the same consideration of health, to reserve January for exercise. It was therefore ordered that the first term in every year should commence on the first of February, the second on the 1st of April, the third on the 1st of August, and the fourth on the 1st of October;[82] and the President of the Board of Control was written to to obtain for the Court, according to the provision of the Charter, His Majesty's sanction for the alteration proposed. No answer had been received when the Charter of the 41st George III, superseding the Court of the Recorder and substituting the Supreme Court, arrived,

[82] Correspondence, vol. i, pp. 156, 187.

under which the proposed arrangement of terms was adopted, but not established by rule lest it might be found expedient soon to alter it again. Hence the succession of terms in the Supreme Court continued in fact to be a provisional one from term to term only, subject to be established by rule under the Charter with modifications as and when the Court might think proper, till 1831, when it was ordered that in every year there should be four terms, each term to consist of twenty-one days; the first term in every year to commence on the 2nd February, the second on the 21st March, the third on the 18th July, and the fourth on the 12th September; provided always that if the twenty-first day of any term should happen to fall on a Sunday, such term should end on the following day.[83]

This rule remained without alteration during the existence of the Supreme Court, but by Act XXVIII of 1845, section 2, the Court was empowered to transact out of term all business which it had power to transact in term; and on the opening of the High Court on the 18th August 1862 it was intimated by the Chief Justice, Sir Colley H. Scotland, that there would be no longer a division of the year into four terms.

By the constitution of the Court of the Recorder the Bench consisted of the Mayor with three Aldermen, the Recorder presiding. The Mayor was of course a permanent member during the whole of his year. The Aldermen were by rotation changed every term. The Recorder and either the Mayor or one of the Aldermen were sufficient to hold a Court for all purposes, and the Court had not been long established when, in consequence of the acts of some of its members, disapproved of by others, a majority of the Mayor and Aldermen

[83] Supreme Court Rules, 22nd February 1831, G. R. 1. The information as to the Recorder's Court is taken chiefly from a MS. Introduction to the Correspondence of the Court of the Recorder, 1798 to 1801.

came to a resolution, in which the others found it necessary to acquiesce, that the Mayor or one Alderman only should attend the Recorder at a time. They were actuated by two considerations in proposing it, one on their own account, to reduce the attendance as much as possible, as they had all private business of their own to occupy them; the other for the sake of the public, that the administration of justice might be no longer impeded or perverted. The resolution took effect the second term after the publication of the Charter, and from this time during the continuance of the Court of the Recorder it was held in fact by him with one of the members of the Corporation only, the Mayor and three Aldermen serving for the particular time taking it by turns to attend from day to day according to a rotation settled among themselves. Under this arrangement the Master had a seat assigned to him on the Bench on the left hand of the Recorder, and he attended also from day to day, the Recorder conferring with him occasionally on points as they arose, and finding him upon all occasions a useful adviser.[84]

Eighteen of the cases decided by this Court are reported in Strange's Notes of Cases at Madras, and to these may be added the following as of some general interest, though not deciding any important point of law.

On the 18th March 1799 the Company's ship *Dublin*, Captain Reay, recaptured and brought into the Madras Roads the ship *Solemany* and her cargo, which had been taken by the French under Danish colours. The captors claimed the property as prize, and were proceeding by their agents, Messrs. Abbot and Roebuck, to sell it as such without previous condemnation. The owners, who were Mahommedan natives, subjects of the Company belonging to the coast, instituted a suit on the Equity side of the Court of

[84] Preface to Correspondence.—Letter from Sir Thomas Strange to Mr. Dundas, dated 10th October 1799.

the Recorder to restrain the sale till the captors should give security to account for the proceeds in the event of the case being held, in the Prize Court at Home, to have been a case of recapture only, subject to salvage or otherwise, with a view to have a sale decreed under the direction of the Court of the Recorder, and the proceeds deposited (to abide the same event) in the Company's Treasury. The Court considering itself as called upon by the Bill not to assume a Prize jurisdiction, which it disclaimed, but to examine a function auxiliary to the High Court of Admiralty in England, entertained the suit upon the authority of Barnsley *v.* Powell, (1 Ves., 290), and the captors declining to give the security required, the ship and cargo were sold under its order, and the proceeds having been secured as prayed, were in the end distributed according to the sentence of the High Court of Admiralty in its Prize jurisdiction duly certified, such sentence having adjudged it to be a case of recapture only. Sir William Scott, Judge of the High Court of Admiralty, in pronouncing judgment commended what had been done by the Court of the Recorder.[85]

It was Sir Thomas Strange's intention to have published Notes of Cases in the Prize Court, in which the one mentioned above might perhaps have been included; but believing that in the event of another war this jurisdiction would be otherwise provided for, he determined to content himself by depositing with his successor in office a manuscript copy of the judgments in that Court, which he had prepared for the Press.[86] I have not been able to ascertain what has become of this manuscript.

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[85] Government Correspondence with Recorder's Court, pp. 108 to 127.
[86] Preface to Notes of Cases.

CHAPTER VII.

Mr. Dundas, afterwards Lord Melville, was President of the Board of Control when the Act passed enabling the Crown to frame for Madras and Bombay the Charter establishing Recorders' Courts at these Presidencies. The Bill for this purpose was brought in by him, but the plan adopted was not to its full extent what he proposed. It was his wish to have given at once, to Madras at least, a Court composed in all respects like that at Bengal; but he was impelled by considerations of economy [87] to relinquish his first suggestion. The subsequent fall of the Mysore empire adding considerably to the Indian revenue, and the inadequacy of the Charter of 1798 for the Madras Presidency having been about the same time distinctly manifested, he was induced to resume his original purpose, which was no longer objectionable, and the Act 39 and 40 Geo. III, c. 79, was accordingly passed on the 28th July 1800.[88]

By this Statute the King was empowered to establish a Supreme Court of Judicature at Madras to consist of such and the like number of persons[89] to be named from time to time by His Majesty, his heirs and successors, with full power to exercise such Civil Criminal Admiralty and Ecclesiastical jurisdictions both as to Natives and British subjects, and to be invested with such power and authorities, privileges and immunities for the better administration of the same, and subject to the same limitations, restrictions and control within Fort St. George and the Town of Madras and the limits thereof, and the factories subordinate thereto and within the territories which there were or thereafter might be

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[87] And the resistance of the Court of Directors.—Preface to Supreme Court Correspondence.

[88] Preface to Strange's Notes of Cases at Madras.

[89] A Chief Justice and two other Judges, 37 Geo. III, c. 142, s. 1.

subject to, or dependent upon, the Government of Madras, as the Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal did consist of, was invested with, or subject to, within the said Fort William or the Kingdoms or Provinces of Bengal, Bahar and Orissa. Provided always that the Governor and Council at Madras and the Governor-General of Fort William should enjoy the same exemption from the authority of the Supreme Court to be erected at Madras as was enjoyed by the Governor-General and Council at Fort William from the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of Judicature, there already by law established. And it was further enacted that if His Majesty should grant such Charter as aforesaid and erect such Supreme Court of Judicature at Madras as aforesaid, all the records, muniments and proceedings whatsoever of, and belonging to, the late Mayor's Court at Madras, or to the late Court of Oyer and Terminer and Gaol Delivery, which were by the 37th Geo. III, c. 142, directed to be delivered over and preserved and deposited in the new Courts, erected by virtue of that Act, and all the records, muniments and proceedings whatsoever of, and belonging to, any of the said new Courts should from and immediately after such Supreme Court of Judicature should be established at Madras be delivered over to be preserved and deposited for safe custody in the said new Court of Judicature, to which all parties concerned should and might have resort and recourse upon application to the said Court, and that so much of the Charter granted by His Majesty for erecting the Courts of the Recorder of Madras and Bombay as related to the appointment of such Recorder and the erecting of such Court of Judicature at Madras[90] should from and immediately

[90] The Court of the Recorder of Bombay continued without material alteration till 1824, when a Supreme Court was established in that Presidency under the authority of 4 Geo. IV, c. 71, by Charter dated 8th December 1823.

after the publication of the Charter of the Supreme Court of Judicature at Madras cease and determine and be absolutely void to all intents and purposes whatsoever, and all powers and authorities granted by the 37 Geo. III, c. 142, to the Court of the Recorder at Madras should cease and determine and be no longer exercised by the said Court, but the same should and might be exercised by the Supreme Court in the manner and to the extent before directed.

The provisions of the Charter granted to the Supreme Court of Madras in pursuance of these clauses will be adverted to presently. Meantime it may be convenient to notice shortly some other alterations which were made by the Statute 39 and 40 Geo. III, c. 79.

The Governor and Council of Fort St. George were empowered by section 11 to frame regulations from time to time for the Provincial Courts and Councils within the territories which then were or should at any time thereafter be annexed or made subject to the said Presidency in like manner and subject to all the regulations, provisions and confirmations touching the same as the Governor-General and Council at Fort William were by any Act then in force authorized and empowered to do for the better administration of justice among the Native inhabitants and others being within the Provinces of Bengal, Bahar and Orissa.

The power of the Governor-General and Council at Fort William to frame regulations for the Provincial Courts and Councils was conferred upon them by the Statute 21 Geo. III, c. 70, s. 23, and was confirmed by 37 Geo. III, c. 142, s. 8, by which after reciting that certain regulations for the better administration of justice among the Native inhabitants and others being within the Provinces of Bengal, Bahar and Orissa had been from time to time framed by the Governor-General in Council in Bengal, and among other regulations it had been established and declared as essential

to the future prosperity of the British Territories in Bengal that all regulations passed by Government affecting the rights, properties or persons of the subjects should be formed into a regular code and printed with translations in the country languages, and that the grounds of every regulation be prefixed to it, and that the Courts of Justice within the provinces be bound to regulate their decisions by the rules and ordinances which such regulations might contain whereby the Native inhabitants might be made acquainted with the privileges and immunities granted to them by the British Government, and the mode of obtaining speedy redress for any infringement of the same ;[91] and that it was essential that so wise and salutary a provision should be strictly observed, and that it should not be in the power of the Governor-General in Council to neglect or to dispense with the same, it was enacted that all regulations which should be issued and framed by the Governor-General in Council at Fort William in Bengal affecting the rights, persons or property of the Natives or of any other individuals who might be amenable to the Provincial Courts of Justice should be registered in the Judicial Department and formed into a regular code and printed with translations in the country languages, and that the grounds of each regulation should be prefixed to it, and that all the Provincial Courts of Judicature should be and they were thereby directed to be bound by and to regulate their decisions by such rules and ordinances as should be contained in the said regulations, and that the Governor-General in Council should annually transmit to the Court of Directors of the East India Company ten copies of such regulations as might be passed in each year and the same number to the Board of Commissioners for the affairs of India.

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[91] Bengal Regulation XLI of 1793. A similar provision formed the subject of the first Madras Regulation I of 1802.

The Governor-General and Council were also empowered by section 36 of the Regulating Act (13 Geo. III, c. 63) to make and issue such rules, ordinances, and regulations for the good order and civil government of the Company's Settlement at Fort William, and other factories and places subordinate thereto, as should be deemed just and reasonable (such rules, ordinances, and regulations not being repugnant to the laws of the realm), and to set, impose, inflict, and levy reasonable fines and forfeitures for the breach or non-observance of such rules, ordinances, and regulations, and (by the 39 and 40 Geo. III, c. 79, s. 18) in addition to, or instead of, such fines and forfeitures to order or appoint such moderate and reasonable corporal punishment by public or private whipping or otherwise as to them should seem fit and expedient, but such rules, ordinances, and regulations were not to be valid or of any force or effect until the same should be duly registered and published in the Supreme Court with the consent and approbation of the said Court.

This was extended to Madras and Bombay by the Statute 47 Geo. III, c. 68, s. 1, but very little use was made in any of the Presidencies of the powers thereby conferred. The only instance I have met with of the power having been exercised in Madras is the following:—

"A rule, ordinance, and regulation for the good order and civil government of the Settlement of Fort St. George, Madras, and of the Port thereof, made and passed by the Right Honorable the Governor in Council of and for the Presidency of Fort St. George, Madras, the 28th December in the year of Our Lord 1827, and registered in the Supreme Court of Judicature at Madras the 12th day of September 1828."

In 1832 new Police regulations were proposed to be registered, but the Supreme Court, after hearing Counsel on the subject, refused to allow them to be put in force.

As remarked by Sir Charles Gray, the Chief Justice, who, as already noticed, just put a reasonable construction on the

provisions for the administration of oaths in the Supreme Court at Calcutta, the power of making regulations under the 13 Geo. III, c. 63, has been almost a barren branch, and that which was given in 1781 by 21 Geo. III, c. 70, s. 23, extended to Madras in 1800 by 39 and 40 Geo. III, c. 79, s. 11, expressly for the purpose of making limited rules of practice for Provincial Courts, has produced a new and extensive system of laws for a large portion of the human race.[92]

This was written by Sir Charles Gray when the renewal of the East India Company's Charter was under consideration, and inquiries were being made which led to the passing, on the 28th August 1833, of the Statute 3 and 4 William IV, c. 85, for effecting an arrangement with the East India Company, and for the better government of His Majesty's Indian Territories, till the 13th day of April 1854. By this statute the Governors in Council of Madras and Bombay were deprived of their power of making laws and regulations,[93] and the Governor-General in Council was authorized to make laws and regulations for all persons, whether British or Native, foreigners or others, and for all Courts of Justice, whether established by His Majesty's Charters or otherwise, and for all places and things whatsoever within and throughout the whole of the territories under the Government of the East India Company, and for all servants of the Company within the dominions of Princes and States in alliance with the Company, save and except that the Governor-General in Council should not have the power of making any laws or regulations affecting the provisions of the Mutiny Acts, the prerogative of the Crown, and some other matters of a

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[92] Minute by Sir Charles Gray, C.J., dated 2nd October 1829, Fifth Appendix to the Third Report of the Committee of the House of Commons on the affairs of the East India Company, 1831.

[93] Section 49.

like nature.[94] These provisions continued in force till 1861, when they were repealed by the Indian Councils Act (24 and 25 Vic., c. 67), which restored to the Governors in Council of Madras and Bombay, with some considerable modifications, their power to make laws and regulations for their respective Presidencies.

By the Madras Regulations made under the Statute 39 and 40 Geo. III, c. 79, s. 11, Zillah Courts were established for the trial of civil suits, with four Provincial Courts of Appeal, and a Sudder Adawlut or Chief Court of Civil Judicature, consisting of the Governor and the other Members of the Council of Fort St. George, for trying appeals from the decisions of the Provincial Courts of Appeal. An appeal also lay from the Sudder to the Governor-General, though, under Bengal Regulation II of 1801, he had ceased to be a Member of the Court of Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, and to exercise any judicial control over the Courts in Bengal. Magistrates and Assistant Magistrates were appointed, and four Courts of Circuit, with an appeal to the Foujdary Adawlut or Chief Criminal Court, were established for the trial of persons charged with crimes.[95]

For the trial of small causes Native Commissioners, afterwards converted into District Munsifs, were appointed;[96] and the Registers of the Zillah Courts were authorized to try such suits, original or on appeal, from the Native Commissioners, as might be referred to them by the Judges, when the property in dispute did not exceed a limited amount.[97] A few years afterwards Head Native Commissioners or

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[94] Section 43. The Indian Law Commissioners were appointed under section 53 of the same Act, and published several valuable reports and a proposed Penal Code commonly known as Macaulay's Code.

[95] Regulations I to VIII of 1802. The administration of justice had previously been vested in the Collectors of the Revenue, Regulation II of 1802.

[96] Regulation XVI of 1802, X of 1809, VI of 1816, II of 1821, III of 1833, and Act III of 1873.

[97] Regulation XII of 1802, VII of 1809, II of 1821, III of 1833.

Sudder Ameens were also appointed;[98] and the heads of villages were made Munsifs within their respective villages.[99]

Native Judges, afterwards called Principal Sudder Ameens,[100] were subsequently appointed under the provisions of Regulation VII of 1827.

All these Courts were to be guided in their proceedings and decisions by the Regulations, and in cases for which no specific rule might exist the Judges were to act according to justice and equity and good conscience;[101] but in suits regarding succession, inheritance, marriage and caste, and all religious usages and institutions, the Mahomedan Laws with respect to Mahomedans, and the Hindoo Laws with regard to Hindoos, as expounded by the Mahomedan and Hindoo Law Officers of the Courts, were to be considered as the general rules by which the Judges were to form their decisions.[102]

Their jurisdiction in civil cases extended over all Natives and other persons not British subjects, and also over all British subjects (except King's Officers serving under the Presidency of Fort St. George, and the Covenanted Civil Servants of the Company and their Military Officers) so far as not to allow them to reside at a greater distance from Fort St. George than ten miles, unless they executed a bond, in the form prescribed by Regulation XVIII of 1802, to render themselves amenable to the Company's Courts in all suits of a civil nature that might be instituted against them by Natives or other persons, not British subjects, in which the amount claimed did not exceed Rs. 500.[103] The criminal jurisdiction was limited to Natives and Europeans not being

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[98] Regulation VII of 1809, VIII of 1816, II of 1821, III of 1833.

[99] Regulation IV of 1816; and see Wilson's History of British India, vol. ii, chap. xii.

[100] Act XXIV of 1836.

[101] Regulation I of 1802, s. 13; II of 1802, s. 17.

[102] Regulation III of 1802.

[103] Regulation II of 1802, secs. 4 and 6.

British subjects. In the case of a British subject residing in the provinces being charged with a criminal offence, he was to be apprehended by the Magistrate and sent to the Supreme Court at Madras for trial.[104]

The Sudder Adawlut was at first empowered to appoint such vakeels or pleaders of the Mahomedan or Hindoo persuasion as might appear to them necessary to plead the causes of the parties in suits in the Sudder Adawlut, Provincial Courts of Appeal, and Zillah Courts, but shortly afterwards the several Courts were empowered to appoint their own vakeels.[105]

The restriction to Mahomedans and Hindoos was rescinded by Regulation IV of 1832, s. 4.

In 1806 the jurisdiction of the Courts of Sudder and Foujdary Adawlut was vested in two Judges, not being members of the Government, under the occasional superintendence of the Governor, instead of in the Governor and Members of Council; and about eighteen months afterwards it was ordered that these Courts should in future consist of a Chief Judge, being a Member of the Council but not the Governor or Commander-in-Chief, and of three Puisne Judges to be selected from among the Company's Covenanted Servants.[106]

This, with the slight modification that the Governor in Council was empowered by Regulation III of 1825 to appoint additional Judges whenever he might deem it expedient, continued to be the constitution of these two Courts down to the time when the High Court was established.

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[104] Regulation VI of 1802, IV of 1809.

[105] Regulation X of 1802, VII of 1809; XIV of 1816; and see also Regulation V of 1817 and Acts XXVII of 1836, I of 1846, XX of 1853, XX of 1865, XXIX of 1865, and XVIII of 1879.

[106] Regulation IV of 1806, I of 1807, and III of 1807.

The appeal to the Governor-General was not however done away with till 1818. In that year a case of some magnitude having been appealed to the Governor-General in Council, the question whether the Governor-General had power to decide appeals in the last resort was referred to the Advocates-General of the three Presidencies, who were of opinion that an appeal would lie of right to the King in Council from Madras and Bombay from any final decision for any amount, and the Governor-General in Council thereupon declared that appeals were no longer to be made to him, and directed the Madras Government to publish Regulation VIII of 1818, by which it was enacted that appeals should in future be transmitted from the Sudder Adawlut to the King in Council.

Unfortunately no directions were given for the conduct of these appeals, and about 1826 it was accidentally discovered by a gentleman engaged in some antiquarian researches that there were a large number of cases,[107] involving questions of Native law of great importance, which had been in appeal from the Courts in India before the Privy Council for a great many years, and that they had not been heard in consequence of the ignorance of the parties as to the proceedings necessary to be taken in England.[108]

This state of things was remedied by the Statutes 3 and 4 William IV, c. 41, and 8 and 9 Vic., c. 30.

The four Provincial Courts of Appeal and Courts of Circuit were abolished by an order in Council dated the 28th July 1843, and issued under the authority of Act VIII of 1843 ; and the Office of Register of the Mofussil Courts ceased to exist about the same time, though not expressly abolished. The designation of the Zillah Courts and Principal Sudder

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[107] 21 from Bengal, 10 from Madras, and 17 from Bombay.

[108] Morley's Digest, Introd., p. xxiv.

Ameens was changed to District Courts and Subordinate Judges by Act III of 1873.

Great inconvenience having resulted from the manner in which the Courts of Requests for the recovery of small debts at Calcutta and Madras were constituted, the Governor-General and Council of Fort William and the Governor and Council of Fort St. George were authorized by 39 and 40 Geo. III, c. 79, s. 17, to order and appoint in what manner the said Courts respectively should in future be formed, and to what amount in value not exceeding the sum of 400 sicca rupees the jurisdiction of the same should extend, and to frame and make such new rules and orders, and to establish and declare such new modes and forms of proceedings as to them should appear to be necessary and expedient for new modelling, altering, and reforming the constitution of the said Courts respectively.

Under the authority of this section a proclamation was published at Fort St. George, dated the 29th December 1801, whereby it was ordered that from and after the first day of January 1802 the Court of Requests for the recovery of small debts in and for the Settlement of Fort St. George should cease and determine, and that in lieu and stead thereof there should be and be held a new Court for the recovery of small debts within the limits of Fort St. George, which should be composed of three Commissioners, being British subjects residing within the limits of Fort St. George, and should be called "The Court of Commissioners for the recovery of small debts," and that the jurisdiction of the new Court and the Commissioners thereof should extend to the sum of 120 pagodas and no more, and that the said Court should have full power and authority to hear and determine all and all manner of debts and demands so as they should not exceed the said sum of 120 pagodas, and should issue process to compel the appearance of parties and witnesses, and

should proceed to give such final sentence or judgment, or to make such interlocutory or final orders and decrees touching such debts and demands, and the costs of suit, as to them should appear agreeable to justice, equity, and good conscience, and that causes should be proceeded in by examination of parties and evidence in the same manner as such causes were directed to be proceeded in by the instructions sent by the Court of Directors for regulating the proceedings in the Court of Requests in the year 1753, excepting in so far as the said instructions were or might be altered or new modelled by this proclamation, or by the rules for the regulation of the Court approved by Government on the day of the date of the proclamation, or which might thereafter be made for regulating its proceedings. The Court itself was altered and new modelled by Act IX of 1850, which provided that the several Courts of Commissioners and of Requests for the recovery of small debts then holden in the Towns of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay under the authority of the Charter of Geo. II and of the Statutes 37 Geo. III, c. 142, and 39 and 40 Geo. III, c. 179, and of the regulations and proclamations made from time to time for constituting and for new modelling, altering, and reforming the constitution and practice of the said Courts respectively, and of Act XII of 1848,[109] should be holden according to the provisions of Act IX of 1850 from and after such several days as should be declared within the said towns by proclamation to be made and published in each of the said towns by the Governor in Council.

In pursuance of this provision, the 6th December 1850 was fixed by a proclamation dated 19th November 1850 as the day from and after which the Court of Commissioners for the recovery of small debts then holden in the Town of Madras should be holden according to the provisions of Act IX of 1850.

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[109] For better defining the jurisdiction of the Court of Requests at Calcutta.

The style of the new Court, it was enacted, should be the Madras Court of Small Causes, and it was given jurisdiction in all suits where the debt or damage claimed, or value of the property in dispute, was not more than Rupees 500, extended to Rupees 1,000 by Act XXVI of 1864.

Any Judge of the Supreme Court who should consent to aid in the execution of Act IX of 1850, was empowered to do so by section 11, and under this provision the Judges of the Supreme Court while Sir Christopher Rawlinson was Chief Justice (1850 to 1859) sat twice a week for the disposal of small causes.

Small Cause Courts were subsequently established in the Mofussil under Act XI of 1865 and Madras Act I of 1866.

In addition to the unsatisfactory state of the Court of Requests at the time of the passing of the Statute 39 and 40 Geo. III, c. 79, it was considered that great inconvenience had also arisen from the practice of granting letters of administration in cases where the next of kin, or any of the creditors of the deceased, did not apply for the same, to persons calling themselves friends of the deceased. It was therefore enacted (39 and 40 Geo. III., c. 79, s. 21) that whenever any British subject should die intestate within either of the Presidencies of Fort William, Fort St. George, or Bombay, or the territories subordinate to either of the said Presidencies, and on return of the citation to be issued from the proper Ecclesiastical Court no next of kin or creditor should appear and make out their claim to the administration of the effects of the intestate deceased to the satisfaction of the said Court, it should and might be lawful for the Registrar of such Court respectively, and he was thereby required to apply for, and such Court was required and directed to grant such letters *ad colligenda*, or of administration, as to such Court should seem meet, by virtue whereof such Registrar should collect the assets of the deceased, and should bring them for safe

custody into such Court, and account for them regularly, in like manner as by law provided in cases where assets were vested in the hands of any Officer of the Court under or by virtue of the equitable jurisdiction of any such Court. Provided always that, when any next of kin or creditor, who at the time of the return of the above citation should have been absent in Europe or elsewhere, should make and establish their claim to the administration of the assets of such intestate, the letters *ad colligenda*, or of administration, granted to the Registrar, should be recalled, and administration in due form granted to such next of kin or creditor respectively.

This enactment did not expressly provide for the cases of executors or administrators, or persons entitled to administration not resident within the jurisdiction, who might have appointed attornies resident or being therein; and it was doubted whether the Courts were not required to grant letters *ad colligenda* or of administration to their Registrars in preference to attornies so appointed. It was therefore enacted by 55 Geo. III, c. 84, ss. 2 and 3, that when the executor or administrator lawfully appointed, or person entitled to administration as next of kin or residuary legatee with the will annexed, of any person deceased, whose effects should be subject to the jurisdiction of any of the said Courts in respect to the granting of administration, not being resident within the jurisdiction of such Court, should have appointed, or should thereafter appoint, either by power of attorney under seal, or by any other sufficient authority, to be shown to the satisfaction of the said Court, any person or persons resident or being within such jurisdiction to act for such executor or administrator or person entitled to administration as aforesaid, in collecting or administering in any manner the effects of the deceased, the person or persons so appointed should be entitled to obtain letters *ad colligenda*, or of administration, either general or special, as the tenor of such authority

and the nature of the case might require, preferably to the Registrar of such Court, and all other persons to whom such executor or administrator, or persons entitled as aforesaid, would have had a preferable claim if personally resident within the jurisdiction of the said Court; and that where any such letters *ad colligenda* or of administration should have been granted to the Registrar of such Court, and application should be afterwards made by any person or persons so appointed as aforesaid for the revocation thereof, in order to grant other letters to such person or persons, the letters so granted to such Registrar should be revoked, unless it should appear to the Court that there had been unreasonable delay, either in the transmission of the authority under which such application was made or in making such application.

In 1849 it was deemed expedient to disconnect the administration of the estates of British subjects dying intestate in Bengal from the Office of Ecclesiastical Registrar of the Supreme Court in that Presidency, and to appoint an Administrator-General there, which was accordingly done by Act VII of 1849. This Act was extended to Madras and Bombay by Act II of 1850, but with the proviso that the two offices of Ecclesiastical Registrar and Administrator-General might be held at Fort St. George and Bombay respectively by the same person. Then followed Act VIII of 1855, by which it was enacted (section 6) that the two offices of Ecclesiastical Registrar and Administrator-General might be held by the then Administrator-General at Fort St. George, but with the exception that no person then holding the office of Administrator-General, or thereafter to be appointed to such office in any of the Presidencies, should hold the office of Ecclesiastical Registrar. No very material change has since been made, though Act VIII of 1855 was repealed and re-enacted with some modifications by Act XXIV of 1867, which was in its turn treated in the same way by Act IV of 1874, amended by Act IX of 1881.

A somewhat similar office was created by Act XVII of 1843, which, after reciting that the property of infants, feme-coverts and others, vested in trustees, was exposed to peculiar risks and burthens in the territories subject to the Government of the East India Company, not only from the insolvency of trustees, but from the frequent difficulties occasioned by their death, or absence, or refusal, or incapacity to act, it was enacted that in all cases in which any property was subject to any trust, and there should be no trustee willing to act or capable of acting within the jurisdiction of Her Majesty's Courts in the said territories, it should be lawful for the Supreme Court of each of the Presidencies to appoint the Registrar or some other officer of the Court to be a trustee of such property; and afterwards it was by Act XVII of 1864 enacted that for each of the Presidencies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay there should be an Official Trustee appointed by the Chief Justice of the High Court, and that such office might be held by the Administrator-General for the time being.

Rules had been made by the Courts at the several Presidencies for the relief of insolvent debtors according to the provisions of the Lords' Act (32 Geo. II, c. 28), but doubts were entertained whether any of these Courts were competent to administer such relief. Power was therefore given by the 39 and 40 Geo. III, c. 79, s. 23, to the Judges of the Supreme Courts at Fort William and Madras, and the Court of the Recorder at Bombay, to make and publish such rules and orders as to them respectively should seem meet, for extending the relief intended by the Lords' Act to such insolvent debtors as should be in execution under the process of such respective Courts, or of any Court previously established at such Presidency respectively, for sums under the amount to be prescribed by such rules and orders; and, by section 24, all rules and orders theretofore made for the relief of insolvent debtors were ratified and confirmed, and all suits

against any person for acting under them were discharged, annulled, and utterly made void and of no effect. The rules of the Supreme Court of Judicature at Madras made in pursuance of this enactment will be found in the Appendix to Sir Thomas Strange's Notes of Cases at Madras, but need not be more particularly noticed here, as they were virtually abrogated by the Statute 9 Geo. IV, c. 73, which established Courts for the Relief of Insolvent Debtors to be holden within the respective limits of the Towns of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, by any one Judge of the Supreme Courts at these Presidencies respectively.[110] This Act was to continue in force only until the first day of March 1833, but was continued by 2 William IV, c. 43, till the 1st March 1836. The law was amended by 4 and 5 William IV, c. 79, and both the original and amending Act further continued by 6 and 7 William IV, c. 47, till the 1st March 1839, and from thence till the end of the then next Session of Parliament.[111] By 3 and 4 Vic., c. 80, they were further continued till the 1st March 1845, and from thence to the end of the then next Session of Parliament; and by 9 and 10 Vic., c. 14, they were continued till the 1st March 1847, and from thence to the end of the then next Session of Parliament. In the last-mentioned session it was enacted by the Statute 11 Vic., c. 21, that they should be continued until the 31st July 1848, and that from and after that day they should be repealed, and the proceedings of the Courts regulated by the provisions of the last-mentioned statute.

By the 17th clause of the first Charter of the High Court (26th June 1862) it was ordained that the Court for the Relief of Insolvent Debtors at Madras should be held before

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[110] As to the very doubtful benefit of this statute see a letter from Sir Ralph Palmer, C.J., to the Right Honorable C. Grant, dated 3rd July 1835. —Chief Justice's Letter Book, vol. iv, N.S., p. 13.

[111] The original Act was also continued till the 1st March 1839 by Act IV of 1836.

one of the Judges of the High Court of Judicature at Madras, and that the said High Court, and any such Judge thereof, should have and exercise, whether within or without the Presidency of Madras, such powers and authorities with respect to original and appellate jurisdiction and otherwise as were constituted by the laws relating to insolvent debtors in India.

The 18th section of the amended Charter (28th December 1865) is in the same terms, except that the words "*within the Presidency of Madras*" are substituted for "*whether within or without the Presidency of Madras*," thereby depriving insolvents in the mofussil of any relief except that afforded by sections 273, 275, 280, 281 and 282 of Act VIII of 1859, and section 8 of Act XXIII of 1861, by which provision was made for the discharge of any person in custody upon his giving up all his property. This, however, has been to a great extent remedied by the Code of Civil Procedure, Act X of 1877, Chapter XX.

The only remaining part of the Statute 39 and 40 Geo. III, c. 79, which it seems necessary to notice is the 25th section, by which, after stating that it might be expedient for His Majesty, his heirs or successors, to issue a Commission from His High Court of Admiralty in England for the trial and adjudication of Prize Causes, and other maritime questions arising in India, it was enacted that it should and might be lawful for His Majesty, his heirs and successors, to nominate and appoint all or any of the Judges of the Supreme Courts of Judicature at Fort William and Madras, or the Court of the Recorder at Bombay, either alone or jointly with any other persons to be named in such Commission, to be Commissioners for the purpose of carrying such Commission so to be issued as aforesaid into execution; any Act or Acts to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding. A Vice-Admiralty Court was accordingly established at Madras on the

11th August 1808, by a Commission addressed to the Chief Justice of Madras for the time being, or the person executing the duties of such office, and dated at London in the High Court of Admiralty of England the 21st day of January 1808. The practice to be observed in this Court, and the fees to be allowed and taken by the respective Judges, Officers and practitioners therein, were regulated by Rules and Regulations made on the 27th June 1832, under the authority of the Statute 2 William IV, c. 51, and the additional Rules and Regulations of the 6th July 1859. In proceedings instituted on behalf of Her Majesty's ships, provision was made for the payment of costs by the rules, orders, and regulations established by Her Majesty's Order in Council of 22nd October 1859, under the authority of 2 William IV, c. 51, and the Navy Pay and Prize Act, 1854 (17 Vic., c. 19). The Statute 2 William IV, c. 51, also declared (section 6) that the Court should have jurisdiction in suits for seamen's wages, pilotage, bottomry, damage to a ship by collision, contempt of the regulations relating to His Majesty's Service at sea, salvage, and droits of Admiralty, in all cases where a ship or vessel, or the master thereof, should come within the local limits of the Court, notwithstanding the cause of action might have arisen out of the local limits. An appeal lay to the High Court of Admiralty in England, or to the Lord Commissioners in Prize Cases, but by 3 and 4 William IV, c 41, s. 2, it is enacted that from the 1st day of June 1833 all such appeals and applications in prize suits should be made to His Majesty in Council, and not to the said High Court of Admiralty in England, or to such Commissioners as aforesaid. The jurisdiction of the Vice-Admiralty Court was transferred to the High Court by the 31st clause of the Letters Patent, dated 26th June 1862, which is confirmed by the 32nd clause of the amended Letters Patent dated 28th December 1865. No change was at first made in the forms

of procedure, but by clause 37 of the amended Letters Patent it is directed that the rules and orders which the High Court was thereby empowered to make, for regulating the proceedings in civil cases, including proceedings in its Admiralty, Vice-Admiralty, testamentary, intestate, and matrimonial jurisdiction respectively, should be as far as possible in accordance with the provisions of the Code of Civil Procedure; and a considerable alteration in the practice was accordingly made by the rules and orders of the 5th July 1866.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Supreme Court of Judicature at Madras, consisting of a Chief Justice and two Puisne Judges, was established within the Settlement of Fort St. George in the place of the Court of the Recorder for that Presidency by Letters Patent, bearing date at Westminster, the 26th December 1800 (41 Geo. III). The Recorder, Sir Thomas Strange, was thereby appointed the first Chief Justice of the new Courts, and Henry Gwillim and Benjamin Sullivan, Esquires, the first Puisne Judges. Brought out by Mr. Justice Gwillim, it was published at the Presidency on the 4th of September 1801,[112] and still continues in force so far as it is not inconsistent with the provisions of the Act 24 and 25 Vic., c. 104, and the Letters Patent constituting the High Court.[113]

The Judges were to be Barristers in England or Ireland of not less than five years' standing, to be named and appointed by, and to hold office during, the pleasure of the Crown. The Chief Justice was to have rank and precedence before all His

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112 Preface to Sir Thomas Strange's Notes of Cases at Madras.

113 Letters Patent, 26th June 1862, clause 44; amended Letters Patent, 28th December 1865, clauses 1 and 45.

Majesty's subjects within the territories subject to the Government of Fort St. George except the Governor-General and Governor of Fort St. George for the time being, and except all such persons as by law and usage take place in England before the Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench; and the Puisne Justices were to take rank next after the Members of Council at Madras. The Chief Justice and Puisne Justices respectively were appointed to be Justices and Conservators of the Peace and Coroners within and throughout the Settlement of Fort St. George, and the town of Madras, and the limits thereof and the factories subordinate thereto, and all the territories which then were, or thereafter might be, subject to or dependent upon the Government of Madras; and to have such jurisdiction and authority as the Justices of the Court of King's Bench had and might lawfully exercise within that part of Great Britain called England, as far as circumstances would admit.

A question as to precedence was under discussion in 1813, when the Marquis of Hastings, then Lord Moira, was at Madras on his way to Calcutta, and is thus referred to in his Journal, under date September 12th: "Dined with the Governor. A contest was then raging for precedence between the daughters of peers and the wives of those who, from their station in the Company's service, were held to have a superior local rank. As the affair had been referred to the Governor-General in Council, I had not to give any opinion upon it; and a hope which I was told had been entertained that I should indirectly decide the question by my choice of the lady whom I should hand out at this dinner was baffled by my adverting laughingly to the dispute while I gave one arm to Lady Hood[114] (Lord Seaforth's daughter) and the other to Lady Strange, the wife of the Chief Justice."

[114] Wife of Admiral Sir Samuel Hood.

How the question was disposed of by the Governor-General in Council I do not know, but according to the Royal Warrants which have regulated precedence in India for the last 40 years at least, all ladies take place according to the rank assigned to their respective husbands, with the exception of wives of peers and ladies having precedence in England independently of their husbands, who take place according to their several ranks after the wives of Members of Council. These Warrants gave the Chief Justices and Bishops of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay precedence not only of the Commanders-in-Chief at their respective Presidencies, but also of the Commander-in-Chief in India, down to 1871, when the Commander-in-Chief in India was given precedence of the Chief Justice in Bengal, and the Bishops of Madras and Bombay were put below the Commanders-in-Chief at their Presidencies, who were further exalted in 1876 by being given precedence of the Chief Justices of Madras, Bombay, and the North-Western Provinces.

The territories subject to or dependent upon the Government of Madras at the time of the establishment of the Supreme Court were, with almost the sole exception of Kurnool, which was annexed in 1839, the same as those now included in that description. The acquisition between 1759 and 1766 of the Northern Circars and Chingleput has already been noticed. Malabar, Dindigul, Salem, and the Baramahal were ceded to the East India Company by Tippoo Sultan in 1792, and seven years afterwards another great increase to the Company's territories in Southern India was made in consequence of the taking of Seringapatam and death of Tippoo. It was then agreed by a treaty made between the Company and the Nizam and dated the 22nd June 1799 that the districts of Canara, Coimbatore, and Wynaad, together with the heads of all the passes leading from the territory of the late Tippoo Sultan to any part of the possessions of the

English East India Company Bahadoor or its allies or tributaries situated between the ghâts on either coast and all forts situated near to and commanding the said passes should be subject to the authority and be for ever incorporated with the dominions of the English East India Company Bahadoor. The district of Gooty was subjected to the authority and united to the dominions of the Nizam. The Maharajah of Mysore, Krishna Rajah Oodiaver Bahadoor, a descendant of the ancient Rajahs of Mysore, was to possess the territory described in Schedule C for the purpose of establishing a separate Government in Mysore; and certain districts specified in Schedule D were reserved for the purpose of being eventually ceded to the Peishwa, if he should accede to the treaty, and give satisfaction to the Company and the Nizam with regard to certain points then depending between them.

The Peishwa refused to accede to the treaty and the districts reserved for him were divided between the East India Company and the Nizam, two-thirds being taken by the Nizam and the remaining one-third by the Company.

Afterwards by a treaty dated the 12th October 1800 the Nizam ceded to the East India Company all the territories acquired by him under the treaty with Tippoo of 1792, and also all the territories acquired by him under the treaty of 22nd June 1799, except such of them as were situated to the southward of the river Toombuddra, and in lieu thereof assigned to the Company the district of Ádóni, together with whatever other territory His Highness was possessed of to the south of the Toombuddra or the Kistna below the junction of these two rivers.

The Rajah of Tanjore resigned the administration of his country into the hands of the British Government by a treaty dated the 25th October 1799, and by a treaty concluded with the Nawab of the Carnatic on the 31st July 1801 the sole and exclusive administration of the Civil and Military

Government of all the territories and dependencies of the Carnatic Payen Ghat, together with the full and exclusive right to the revenues thereof (with the exception of such portion of the said revenues as should be appropriated for the maintenance of the Nawab and the support of his dignity) and the sole power and authority of appointing officers for the collection of the revenues, and of establishing Courts for the administration of Civil and Criminal Justice, was vested in the East India Company.

In 1724 all the Dutch establishments on the continent of India, and the town and fort of Malacca with its dependencies which had been ceded by the King of the Netherlands to the Crown of England in exchange for the factory of Bencoolen and the English possessions in Sumatra, by a treaty dated the 17th March of that year, were transferred to the East India Company together with the island of Singapore, which had already been for some years in their occupation, by the Statute 5 Geo. IV, c. 108.

This statute provided that the new acquisitions should be held by the East India Company in the same manner and subject to the same authorities, restrictions, and provisions as the factory of Bencoolen, and the possessions in the island of Sumatra were vested in and holden by the Company immediately before the exchange.

They were thus brought under the operation of the Statutes 42 Geo. III, c. 29, by which the Company's settlement at Fort Marlborough was made a factory subordinate to the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal, and 39 and 40 Geo. III, c. 79, s. 20, whereby it was enacted that the power and authority of the Supreme Court at Calcutta, and all such regulations as had been or might thereafter be framed and provided by the Governor-General and Council of Fort William for the better administration of justice among the native inhabitants and others, should extend to and over all

such provinces and districts as might at any time thereafter be annexed and made subject to the Presidency of Fort William. This so far, at all events as it concerned the settlements on the Coast of Coromandel, was obviously inexpedient, and it was therefore enacted by the Statute 6 Geo. IV, c. 85, s. 19, that it should be lawful for His Majesty by Letters Patent under the Great Seal of Great Britain to make such provisions for the administration of justice in the Island of Singapore and the Town and Fort of Malacca and its dependencies as he might have done if the Statute 39 and 40 Geo. III, c. 79, had never been made or passed; and, by section 20, that from and after the first day of January 1826 the colonies, possessions, and establishments which had been ceded to His Majesty by the King of the Netherlands and which were situate on the Coast of Coromandel or in the Northern Circars, and all the inhabitants of the said colonies, possessions, and establishments, and all other persons being therein, should cease to be subject to and should be wholly exempt from the jurisdiction of the said Supreme Court of Judicature in Bengal, and that the said colonies, possessions, and establishments, and all the inhabitants thereof, and all other persons being therein, should be subject and amenable to the jurisdiction and authority of the Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort Saint George, in like manner as any other place being or deemed to be a factory subordinate to the Government of Fort Saint George and the inhabitants thereof, whether Europeans or Natives, as the case might be, was or were or ought to be liable and amenable thereto. And it was further enacted (s. 21) that it should be lawful for the Court of Directors of the East India Company to declare and appoint that the said Island of Singapore and the said Town and Fort of Malacca and its dependencies and the colonies, possessions, and establishments so ceded as aforesaid, or any of them, should cease to be factories or a factory subordinate to the Presidency of Fort

William in Bengal, and that they should be annexed to and be considered as and be part of the settlement of Prince of Wales' Island, or as factories or a factory subordinate to the Presidency of Fort Saint George or to any Presidency or Government of the Company, or that they or any of them should be independent settlements, or an independent settlement, under such Government as the Company might appoint. Singapore and Malacca were accordingly annexed to Prince of Wales' Island, and the Charter of the former Court of Judicature at the last-mentioned settlement having been surrendered to the Crown by the East India Company a Court of Record called "The Court of Judicature of Prince of Wales' Island, Singapore, and Malacca" was established by Letters Patent bearing date the 27th November 1826 (7 Geo. IV).

The clause of the charter authorising the Supreme Court at Madras to admit Advocates and Attornies differed only from the corresponding clause in the charter of the Court of the Recorder in using the words *bonâ fide* practitioners of the Recorder's Court instead of *bonâ fide* practitioners of the Mayor's Court, but upon the opening of the Supreme Court in September 1801 a division of labour was introduced, some of the gentlemen formerly enrolled both as Advocates and Attornies being sworn in as Advocates only, and the rest being sworn in as Attornies, Proctors, and Notaries. Among those sworn in as Advocates only were Mr. Williams, who had been an officer in the 19th Dragoons, and who acted as Advocate-General under an appointment by Government from the date of Mr. Sullivan's promotion to the Bench of the Supreme Court till Mr. Anstruther was named as his successor by the Court of Directors, and Mr. Compton, afterwards Sir Herbert Compton, Chief Justice of Bombay, who had been a Lieutenant in the 74th Regiment, and who was not called to the Bar (Lincoln's Inn) till the year 1808, after he had been practising for some years as an Advocate

of the Supreme Court. Mr. Anstruther, afterwards Sir Alexander Anstruther, Recorder of Bombay, and who was also sworn in as an Advocate only, had been called to the Bar before leaving England.

A proviso contained in the charter, that no person other than the practitioners of the Recorder's Court should be capable of being admitted or enrolled or of practising in the Supreme Court without the License of the East India Company for that purpose first had and obtained, was done away with by the Statute 3 and 4 William IV, c. 85, s. 115, whereby it was enacted that it should be lawful for any Court of Justice established by His Majesty's charters in the East India Company's territories to approve, admit, and enrol persons as Barristers, Advocates, and Attornies in such Court without any license from the said Company, any thing in such charter contained to the contrary notwithstanding; provided always that the being entitled to practise as an Advocate in the principal Courts of Scotland should be deemed and taken to be a qualification for admission as an Advocate in any Court of India equal to that of having been called to the Bar in England or Ireland.

In July 1853 Mr. J. W. Branson, then an Attorney of the Supreme Court, applied to be admitted as an Advocate, submitting that it was evidently the spirit of the charter that the offices of both Advocate and Attorney should be performed by the same person, and that it was not competent to the Court to separate what the charter had so clearly united; but the Court (Rawlinson, C.J., and Burton, J.) refused the application on the ground that they could not set aside what had been held to be the proper construction of the charter for half a century.

The Barristers of the Supreme Court had between seven and eight years before the date of Mr. Branson's application been authorised by Act I of 1846, s. 5, to plead in the Court of

Sudder Adawlut subject to the rules in force applicable to Pleaders in the latter Court, and this privilege was extended to the Attornies of the Supreme Court by Act XX of 1853, which further provided that such Barristers and Attornies should be entitled to plead not only in the Sudder but in any of the Courts subordinate thereto. These Courts, however, recognised no distinction of classes amongst the practitioners before them, and treated all simply as Pleaders, with power to appear and act as well as to plead. There were thus in existence at the time of the amalgamation of the Supreme and Sudder Courts by the establishment of the High Court three classes of practitioners, the Vakeel of the Sudder, and the Barristers and Attornies of the Supreme Court, some of whom had been also admitted as Vakeels besides being entitled to practise as such under the Acts just noticed. The High Court was accordingly empowered by the charter of 1862 to approve, admit, and enrol Advocates who were authorised to appear and plead, Vakeels who were authorised to appear, plead, and act, and Attornies-at-Law who were authorised to appear and act for the suitors of the Court, and by the amended charter of the 28th December 1865 to approve, admit, and enrol Advocates, Vakeels and Attornies who were authorised to appear for the suitors and to plead or to act, or to plead and act according as the High Court might by its rules and directions determine.

In exercise of these powers all the Advocates and Attornies, or Solicitors of the Supreme Court, and all the Vakeels of the Sudder Court were by the rules of 28th August 1862 admitted as Advocates, Attornies-at-law and Vakeels of the High Court, and placed as nearly as possible in the positions which they had respectively occupied in the abolished Courts, the Appellate Side of the High Court being taken to represent the Sudder and the Original Side as representing the Supreme Court.

Vested interests being thus provided for, it is perhaps to be regretted that it was not determined to adopt for the future one or other of the two systems, and to have either Advocates and Attornies, or Vakeels alone, but by the rules of 1st October 1863 and 30th April 1870 provision was made for the qualification and admission not only of Advocates and Attornies-at-Law, but also of Vakeels entitled as such to practise on both the Original and Appellate Sides of the Court. This was considered a grievance by the Attornies, and in July 1874 they presented a petition to the Chief Justice and other Judges of the Court praying that the right of the Vakeels to practise might be restricted to the Appellate Side, and that their Lordships would concede to the Attornies the right to practise on the Appellate Side as Vakeels in the same way as Attornies of the Supreme Court had been permitted to practise in the Sudder. The last part of the prayer was granted, but this did not satisfy the petitioners. A few months afterwards they applied to the Court upon a formal petition supported by the arguments of Counsel for an order that the rules permitting Vakeels to practise on the Original Side of the Court should be cancelled on the ground that such rules were not authorised by the charter of 1862 and that the wording of the amended charter was not in accordance with the provisions of the Statute 24 and 25 Vic., c. 104, under which both the charters were issued. The application was refused, but the Chief Justice, in delivering the judgment of a full Bench, said that although the Judges entertained no doubt on the question of law, it appeared to them that in some respects the petitioners had reason to complain of the operation of the rules.[115]

One other clause of the Supreme Court's charter may be noticed here,—that by which the Governor and Council were

[115] In the matter of the petition of the Attornies.—Indian Law Reports, 1 Madras Series, p. 24.

required from time to time by their sufficient warrant to be filed of Record in the Supreme Court to name and appoint some sufficient person resident in the town of Madraspatnam to be the Attorney of the East India Company, upon whom process against the Company might be served, and in default of such appointment the Court was authorised to name an Attorney for the Company, upon whom process should be served. It would appear from this to have been intended that the Government Solicitor should be appointed by the Local Government, but the appointment was always made by the Court of Directors up to 1858, and since then has been made by the Secretary of State in Council, the right of the Court of Directors to make the appointment having been recognised and confirmed by the Statute 53 Geo. III, c. 155, s. 81. A warrant of Attorney was until lately given by the Governor in Council to the gentleman appointed by the Court of Directors, and was filed by him in Court ; but this practice has now been discontinued, it probably being considered unnecessary after it had been enacted by Act II of 1855, s. 8, that all appointments appearing in the Government Gazette might be proved by the production of the Gazette.

The Supreme Court continued for some time to occupy the same building in the Fort as that in which the Court of the Recorder had been held, but in 1817 it was removed to the premises in Bentinck's buildings next to Messrs. Arbuthnot & Co.'s offices and then known as the old Marine Yard. In 1836 it was again moved into the eastern half or front part of the building now occupied by the High Court and Small Cause Court, and which had been built for the Board of Trade not long before the East India Company was deprived of its trading powers by the Charter Act of 1833 (3 and 4 Will. IV, c. 85). The western half was occupied by the Commissariat chiefly as wine godowns until 1850, when the southern end was allotted to the Court of Small Causes and the northern

end to the Town Police Court,[116] the centre continuing to be occupied by the Commissariat. On the establishment of the High Court the Small Court was transferred to the part which had been occupied by the Police Court, and the whole of the rest of the building given over to the High Court.

The following is a list of the Judges of the Supreme Court.

Chief Justices.

Sir Thomas Andrew Strange,	sworn in	4th September 1801.
Sir John Henry Newbolt,	,,	10th July 1816.
Sir Edmund Stanley,	,,	4th September 1820.
Sir Ralph Palmer,	,,	7th June 1825.
Sir Robert Buckley Comyn,	,,	31st December 1835.
Sir Edward John Gambier,	,,	22nd May 1842.
Sir Christopher Rawlinson,	,,	15th April 1850.
Sir Henry Davison,	,,	11th March 1859.
Sir Colley Harman Scotland,	,,	24th May 1861.

Puisne Justices.

Sir Henry Gwillim,	sworn in	4th September 1801.
Sir Benjamin Sullivan,	,,	4th September 1801.
Sir Francis Macnaghten,	,,	29th April 1810.
Sir John Henry Newbolt,	,,	2nd February 1811.
Sir Edmund Stanley,	,,	31st December 1816.
Sir Andrew George Cooper,	,,	26th January 1818.
Sir Charles E. Grey,	,,	19th September 1821.
Sir Urllingham Francklin,	,,	22nd October 1822.
Sir Robert Buckley Comyn,	,,	19th August 1825.
Sir George W. Ricketts,	,,	8th November 1825.
Sir Edward John Gambier,	,,	28th November 1836.
Sir John David Norton,	,,	5th April 1842.
Sir William Westbrooke Burton,	,,	27th August 1844.
Sir Henry Davison,	,,	16th March 1857.
Sir Adam Bittleston,	,,	26th July 1858.

[116] Up to 1850 the Court of Commissioners for the recovery of small debts which was then converted into the Court of Small Causes, was held in a large hall in the rear of the house at the north end of Bentinck's buildings; and the Police Court in the building now occupied by Messrs. Walker and Co.

Sir Anthony Buller was appointed a Puisne Justice on the 6th September 1815, but was transferred to Bengal, and it is believed never took his seat on the Madras Bench. Sir Ralph Palmer was appointed one of the Puisne Justices on the 18th August 1824, but was appointed Chief Justice on the 28th January 1825 and accordingly took his seat as Chief Justice four days after his arrival at Madras, the oaths being administered to him by his predecessor Sir Edmund Stanley under the usual salute of seventeen guns.

Sir George Ricketts having died at sea on the 15th July 1831 the vacancy thus created was not filled up, and the Court thenceforth consisted of a Chief Justice and only one Puisne Justice.[117]

The Judges and officers of the Court on the last day of its existence, 17th August 1862, were :—

Chief Justice, Sir Colley Harman Scotland, Knight.

Puisne Justice, Sir Adam Bittleston, Knight.

Master in Equity and Taxing Master, Clement Dale, Esquire.

Registrar, Arthur Macdonald Ritchie, Esquire.

Clerk of the Crown, John Bruce Norton, Esquire.

Deputy Clerk of the Crown and Examiner, Benjamin Brooks, Esquire.

Sealer and Clerk to Chief Justice, G. A. Murray, Esquire.

Clerk to Puisne Justice, Benjamin Brooks, Esquire.

Registrar of Vice-Admiralty Court, B. Brooks, Esquire.

Marshal and Receiver of Droits, R. W. Norfor, Esquire.

Chief Clerk of the Insolvent Debtors' Court, John Dawson Mayne, Esquire.

Official Assignee, Benjamin Brooks, Esquire.

Chief Interpreter in Tamil and Telugu, C. Kristnasawmy Iyer.

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[117] Letter from the India Board to the Chief Justice, dated 25th January 1832, in Chief Justice's letter book.

Deputy Interpreter in Tamil and Telugu, P. Parthasarathy.
Persian and Hindustani Interpreter, Syed Shah Ally Saib.
Armenian Interpreter, Mr. S. J. Johannes.
Portuguese Interpreter, Mr. T. Brass.
Dutch Interpreter, Mr. B. C. Regel.
French Interpreter, Mr. C. Gaudoin.
Crier and Court-keeper, Mr. G. Jenman.
Accountant-General, H. D. Sandeman, Esquire.
Sheriff, Colonel J. Impett.
Deputy Sheriff, E. W. Shaw, Esquire.
Coroner, J. Urquhart, M.D.
Advocate-General, T. Sydney Smyth, Esquire.
Government Solicitor, John Robert Boyson, Esquire.
Administrator-General, John Miller, Esquire.

JOHN SHAW.

III.

'ILM-I-TAJWĪD,

THE ART OF READING THE QURĀN.

THE Qurān is the great bond of union between all the sects of Islām. Men may differ on the exposition of some difficult passages; in the details of its exegesis there is some variety; but all reverence the letter, though they may not all imbibe its spirit. It has given rise to a vast and varied literature. Its decision is final in all controversies of faith. Side by side with it has grown up a vast body of tradition, on which the Sunnat—a most important factor in the faith of Islām—is based; but the most interesting of all studies to the young Muslim is still the Qurān, its grammar and its commentaries. Every Muslim must learn some portion of it by heart, and to learn the whole is an act of great merit. This feat, however, will be of little value unless the Hāfiz, when reciting it, observes all the rules and regulations framed for such an act. This recital is called *tilāwat*, but before any one can do this correctly he must have some acquaintance with what is known as *'Ilm-i-Tajwīd* (علم تجويد). This includes a knowledge of the peculiarities of the spelling of many words in the Qurān, of its various readings, of the Takbīrs and responses to be said at the close of certain appointed passages, of its various divisions, punctuation and marginal instructions, of the proper pronunciation of the Arabic words and the correct intonation of different passages. To throw some light on these various points is the object of this article. It must be borne in mind that the orthodox view is that the Qurān is uncreated and eternal, that it contains no human element whatever, that no

act of worship brings a Muslim so near to God as tilāwat, the act of reading or reciting some portion of this book.[1] The Traditionist Tabrāni says: "Whosoever teaches his son to read the Qurān will receive a heavenly crown." Tirmizi hands down a saying of the Prophet to the effect that "whosoever reads only one letter does a good act which will meet a tenfold reward." The ceremonial acts to be observed before the reading commences are the legal ablution (وضو) and prayer (دعا). The Qurān itself says: "Let none touch it but the purified." The usual prayer is, "I seek God's protection from cursed Satan," followed by the invocation, "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate." Pleasant verses should be read in a cheerful tone, those which speak of threatenings and punishment should be recited with awe. If the reader cannot cry, he should assume the appearance of one in great sorrow. Whenever the words of those whom Muslims call Kāfirs (کافر) are quoted in the Qurān, the reader should recite them in a low tone of voice. Such quotations are the following: "The Jews say, 'Ezra (Ozair) is a Son of God,'" and "the Christians, 'The Messiah is a Son of God'" (Sūra ix, 30). After reading the verse "Adam disobeyed his Lord, and went astray" (Sūra xx, 119), the reader should not pause, but quickly pass on to the following words, "Afterwards his Lord chose him for himself, and was turned towards him, &c." The idea is, that as Adam is one of the Anbiya-ulul-'Azm,[2] the six chief prophets, the stress should be laid on God's forgiveness of his fault and not on his disobedience.

The name of God is repeated twice in the following verse: "We will not believe till the like be accorded us, of what was accorded to the Apostles of God. God best knoweth where to place His mission" (Sūra vi, 124). As this is the only

[1] It is not necessary that the reader should know the meaning. He may be utterly ignorant of Arabic, but he must be able to pronounce it correctly, and he should observe all the legal ceremonies.

[2] Literally, 'The Prophets who were possessors of purpose,' i.e., Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and Muhammad.

place in the Qurān where the word Allāh occurs twice without any intervening word, a prayer should be offered before the second Allāh is pronounced.

The mosque is considered the most suitable of all places in which to read. The most auspicious days of the week are considered to be Friday, Monday, and Thursday. The best hour of the twenty-four is midnight or about 3 A.M.

It is considered a proper thing to go through the whole Qurān in forty days, but on no account should it be completed in less than three, for that would necessitate a hurried perusal. It was the custom of the Companions of the Prophet (اصحاب) to recite four *juz* [3] every night. They were thus about seven or eight nights completing the whole task. The Khalīf Osmān used to commence the Qurān on Friday and finish it on the following Thursday.

A very popular division is known as the *Fami ba Shauq* (فمی بشوق). The letters forming these words are the seven initial letters of the first Sūra of each day's portion, thus :—

Friday ..	Sūrat-ul-Fātiha	to the end of	Sūrat-un-Nisā (iv).
Saturday ..	Sūrat-ul-Mā,ida	,,	Sūrat-ut-Tauba (ix).
Sunday ..	Sūrat-ul-Yūnas	,,	Sūrat-un-Nahl (xvi).
Monday ..	Sūratu-Bani-Isrā,il	,,	Sūrat-ul-Furqān (xxv).
Tuesday ..	Sūrat-ush-Shuarā	,,	Sūrat-ul-Yā-Sīn (xxxvi).
Wednesday.	Sūrat-as-Sāffāt	,,	Sūrat-ul-Hujrāt (xlix).
Thursday ..	Sūrat-ul-Qāf	,,	Sūrat-un-Nās (cxiv).

The *Khatam-i-Ahzāb* (ختم احزاب) is simply another sevenfold division. There is also a threefold division called the *Khatam-i-Manzil-i-Fīl* (ختم منزل فیل). The word *Fīl* contains the initial letters of the first Sūra of each portion. Thus :—

First day ..	Sūrat-ul-Fātiha	to the end of	Sūrat-ut-Tauba (ix).
Second day ..	Sūrat-ul-Yūnas	,,	Sūrat-ur-Rūm (xxx).
Third day ..	Sūrat-ul-Lukmān	,,	Sūrat-un-Nās (cxiv).

[3] A juz (جز) is one-thirtieth part of the Qurān.

This, however, has been found rather irksome, and so a tradition is remembered which states that one day the Prophet said to his Companions, " What, have you not power to read the third part every night?" They replied: " It would be very difficult." The Prophet then said, " Read the Sūrat-ul-Ikhlās (112); the recital of this is equal to that of one-third of the Qurān."

It is a Sunnat practice to read the whole Qurān during the month of Ramazān. One juz is recited each night. Having settled what portion he is going to read, and having performed all the necessary preliminaries, the reader should repeat, not less than three times and as many more as he likes, the Darūd, " O God! have mercy on Muhammad and his descendants, as Thou didst have mercy on Abraham and his descendants. Thou art to be praised and Thou art great. O God! bless Muhammad and his descendants, as Thou didst bless Abraham and his descendants. Thou art to be praised and Thou art great." Then should follow a prayer similar to this, " O God, I testify that this is Thy Book, sent from Thee on Thy Apostle Muhammad, and Thy word spoken by the mouth of Thy Prophet. Accept my perusal of it as an act of worship, make me read it thoughtfully. Truly Thou art kind and gracious." Then he should recite the verses, " O my Lord! I betake me to Thee against the promptings of the Satans; and I betake me to Thee, O my Lord! that they gain no hurtful access to me" (Sūra xxiii, 99, 100), and also the two last Sūras, " Say: I betake me for refuge to the Lord of the daybreak against the mischiefs of His creation, and against the mischief of the night when it overtaketh me, and against the mischief of weird women, and against the mischief of the envier when he envieth." " Say: I betake me for refuge to the Lord of men—the King of men—the God of men, against the mischief of the stealthily with-

drawing whisperer (Satan), who whispereth in man's breast against jinn and men." (Sūras cxiii, cxiv.)[4]

Another prayer (دعا) is then said. Thus: "O God! with truth Thou hast sent it (Qurān), and with truth it came. O God! increase my desire for it, and make it the illuminator of my sight, the healer of my heart, the dispeller of my pain and sorrow. Of Thy mercy, O Most Merciful, hear my prayer." He then says the Ta'awwuz, "I seek refuge near God from cursed Satan;" and the Bismillāh, "In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate." The reading of the selected portion then commences. The whole of these prayers and invocations are not always said, but it is considered a very proper thing to say them.

It is a Sunnat practice to make a response at certain appointed places. If it is a public recital in a mosque or elsewhere, the auditors only respond. The Imām (Precentor) never does so. Amongst the Hanifites no response at all is allowed if the passage is read as part of a Namāz. The Shāfa'ites respond whether they are reading the passage privately or in a Namāz, at home or in a mosque. The responses occur in the following places. At the end of the Sūrat-ul-Fātiha and of the Sūrat-ul-Baqrā say 'Amen.' At the end of the Sūrat-ul-Asrā (xvii) say the *Takbīr*—"God is great." After the last verse of the Sūrat-ul-"Qīāmat (lxxv), "Is He not powerful enough to raise the dead?" say "Yes, pure is my Lord, Most High." At the end of the Sūrat-ul-Mulk (lxvii), after the words "If at early morn your waters shall have sunk away, who then will give you clear running water?" say "God brings it to us, and He is the Lord of the worlds." At the end of the Sūrat-ul-Mursilāt (lxxvii), after the words "In what

[4] These sūras are called the Mu'uzatain (معوذتين) from the word *A'uzn*—"I fly for refuge," which occurs in both.

other revelation after this will ye believe?" say "We believe in God, the Lord of the worlds." At the close of the Sūrat-ut-Tīn (xcv), after the words "What! is not God the most just of judges?" say "Yes, I am a witness for Thee."

In addition to these responses to be given at the end of each Sūra, there are others to be said after certain verses. Thus, after the 16th verse of the 3rd Sūra, "There is no God but He, the Mighty, the Wise," say "I am a witness to this." After the 60th verse of the 27th Sūra, "Is God the more worthy, or the Gods they joined with him?" say "Yes, God is the best, the Abider, the most Glorious, the most Honorable." After the 12th verse of the 53rd Sūra, "Which then of the bounties of your Lord will ye twain (men and jinn) deny?" and after each repetition of this question in this Sūra, say "O Lord, we deny no gift of Thine. To Thee be praise."

The 59th, 64th, 68th, 71st verses of the 56th Sūra read thus: "Is it you who create them, or are we their creator?" "Is it you who cause its up-growth, or do we cause it to spring forth?" "Is it ye who send it down from the clouds, or send we it down?" "Is it ye who rear its tree, or do we rear it?" After each of these verses, say "Yes! it is Thou, O Lord!" After the 1st verse of the 87th Sūra, "Praise the name of the Lord Most High," say "Holy is my Lord, Most High." After the 7th verse of the 91st Sūra, "By a soul and Him who balanced it," say "O God, bestow on my soul piety and purity. Thou art the best of all purifiers."

After the recital of certain passages in the Qurān, a Sijda must be made.[5] This is called the Sijda-i-Tilāwat. Imām

[5] The following is the ritual of a sijda: The worshipper kneeling down, places his hands with the fingers close to each other, upon the ground. He must rest upon his toes, not on the side of the feet which must be kept straight behind him. The elbow must not touch the side, nor the stomach the thigh,

Abu Hanīfa considers it farz, the other three Imāms, Mālik, Hanbal and Shāfa'i consider it sunnat. The former also held that if a person accidentally overheard some other person reading these passages he must make Sijda; the latter do not think it necessary in such a case. Hanīfa also held that if in the Rukū' of a Namāz a Sijda verse (آيت سجده) occurred, the worshipper might make this Sijda after the Namāz was over; the others say that it should be done there and then.

When making the Sijda the Takbīr should be said, and on rising, the Salām, but not the Tashshahud. Imāms Hanīfa and Mālik, however, say that the Takbīr also should be said on rising up from the Sijda.

Altogether there are fourteen Sijda verses.[6]

1. Sūrat-ul-A'arāf (vii), v. 205: "They praise and prostrate themselves before Him."
2. Sūrat-ur-R'ad (xiii), v. 16: "Unto God doth all in the heavens and on the earth bow down in worship, willingly or by constraint: their very shadows also morn and even!"
3. Sūrat-un-Nahl (xvi), vv. 51, 52: "All in the heavens and all on the earth, each thing that moveth, and the very angels, prostrate them in adoration before God, and are free from pride; they fear their Lord who is above them, and do what they are bidden."
4. Sūrat-ul-Asrā (xvii), v. 109: "Glory be to God! the promise of our Lord is made good. They fall down on their faces weeping, and it increaseth their humility."

nor the thigh the calf of the leg. The eyes must be kept bent downwards. Then he touches the ground first with his nose, and then with his forehead, taking care that the thumbs just touch the lobe of the ears. In this position he says the Tasbih-i-Sijda three times: "I extol the holiness of my Lord, the Most High!"

[6] Imām Mālik rejects the three last and so reckons only eleven.

5. Sūratu Maryam (xix), v. 59: "When the signs of the God of Mercy were rehearsed to them, they bowed them down worshipping and weeping."
6. Sūrat-ul-Hajj (xxii), v. 19: "Whom God shall disgrace there shall be none to honour. God doth that which pleaseth Him."[7]
7. Sūrat-ul-Furqān (xxv), v. 61: "When it is said to them, 'Bow down before the God of Mercy,' they say 'Who is the God of Mercy? Shall we bow down to what thou biddest?' and they fly from Thee the more."
8. Sūrat-un-Naml (xxvii), v. 26: "God! there is no God but He! the Lord of the glorious throne." Some, however, say that the preceding verse is the Āyat-i-Sijda.
9. Sūrat-us-Sijda (xxxii), v. 15: "They only believe in our signs, who, when mention is made of them, fall down in *adoration*, and celebrate the praise of their Lord, and are not puffed up with disdain."
10. Sūrat-us-Sād (xxxviii), v. 24: "So we forgave him that (his sin); and truly he shall have a high rank with Us; and an excellent retreat (in Paradise)." Some, however, consider that the Sijda should be made after the words of the preceding verse: "David perceived that We had tried him; so he asked pardon of his Lord, and fell down, and bowed himself and repented."
11. Sūrat-ul-Fuzzilat (xli), v. 38: "They who are with thy Lord do celebrate His praises night and day and cease not."

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[7] Imām Shafa'ī substitutes for the 19th verse the 76th: "Believers! bow down and prostrate yourselves, and worship your Lord and work righteousness that you may fare well."

12. Sūrat-un-Najm (liii), v. 62: "Prostrate yourselves then to God and worship."
13. Sūrat-ul-Infatār (lxxxiv), vv. 20, 21: "What then hath come to them that they believe not? and that when the Qurān is recited to them they adore not?"
14. Sūrat-ul-Aqrā (xcvi), v. 18: "Nay! obey him not, but adore, and draw nigh to God."

Some persons add to the Tasbīh-i-Sijda the following D'uā-i-Māsūra (دعاء ماثورة), *i e.*, a prayer used by the Prophet, the words of which have been handed down in the traditions: "I prostrate myself for Him who created and formed me, and who opened my sight and hearing. God is the best Creator. O God, pardon me and have mercy on me."

Great care must be taken to read according to the pronunciation of the famous Qārīs.[8] A mistake in this respect is called *lahan* and is of two kinds: (1) Lahan-i-jali (لحن جلی),

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[8] A Qārī is one who reads the Qurān, but the term is technically applied to the seven famous "Readers" and their disciples. The names of the seven are Imām Ibn-i-Kasīr, who died at Mecca 120 A.H.

Imām 'Āsim of Kūfa. He learnt the way of reading the Qurān from Abd-ur-Rahman-as-Salāmi, who was taught by the Khalīfs Osmān and 'Ali. 'Āsim died at Kūfa 127 A.H.

Imām Abu 'Umr was born at Mecca 70 A.H. and died at Kūfa 154 A.H. It is on his authority that the following important statement has been handed down: "When the first copy of the Qurān was written out, and presented to the Khalīf Osmān, he said, 'there are faults of language in it, let the Arabs of the desert rectify them with their tongues.'"* The meaning of this is that they should pronounce the words correctly, but not alter the written copy. This accounts for the Rasm-ul-Khat.

* *Ibn Khallikan*, vol. 2, p. 401.

Imām Hamza of Kūfa was born 80 A.H. and died 156 A.H.

Imām Kisāī had a great reputation as a Qārī, but none as a poet. It was a common saying, among the learned in grammar, that there was no one who knew so little poetry as Al-Kisāī. He is said to have died at Tūs about the year 182 A.H.

Imām Nāfi, a native of Madīna, died 169 A.H. He was highly esteemed by the people of that city.

Imām Ibn 'Āmir was a native of Syria.

a clear and evident mistake, such as shortening or lengthening the vowel sounds (اعراب) or any word; (2) Lahan-i-Khafi (لحن خفی), a less apparent mistake, such as not making a distinction in sound between ح and ه, ث and س, ز ذ and ظ, ض and ط; if two of the same letters come together it is a mistake if both are not clearly sounded, *e.g.*, each ه in وجوههم; and each 'ain (ع) in قطع على must be distinctly pronounced.

It is absolutely necessary that great attention should be paid to the tashdīd (تشدید), madd (مد), and other similar marks, an account of which can be found in any Arabic grammar. These diacritical marks, known under the general term of A'rāb (اعراب), were invented by Khalīl Ibn-i-Ahmad, who was born in the year 100 A.H., and who died at Basra about seventy years after.

The marks and symbols peculiar to the Qurān are many. No account of them, so far as I am aware, is given in any grammar of the Arabic language; and as they may have often puzzled the student of the Qurān, I give them here in detail. They refer almost entirely to the various kinds of pauses to be made in reciting the Qurān, and form in fact its punctuation.

The symbol for a full stop is O, when the reader should take breath.

The word سکته is written when a slight pause is made but no breath is taken.

The *waqf* (وقف) or pause is of five kinds:—

(1.) *Waqf-i-lāzim* (وقف لازم), of which the sign is م. This is, as its name implies, a necessary pause. If no pause were made the meaning would be altered; *e.g.*, Sūra ii, v. 7: "Yet are they not believers (م) Fain would they deceive God," &c. Here if there were no waqf-i-lāzim after the word 'believers,' it might seem as if believers would fain deceive God.

(2.) *Waqf-i-Mutlaq* (وقفِ مطلق), the sign of which is ط. This pause occurs in places where, if made or omitted, there is no alteration in the sense, *e.g.*, Sūrat-ul-Fātiha, "King on the day of reckoning (ط) Thee do we worship."

مٰلكِ يَوْمِ الدِّين (ط) اِيَّاكَ نَعْبُدُ.

Here the *waqf* comes after the word دين because the enumeration of God's attributes ends here, and the expression of man's need commences.

(3.) *Waqf-i-jāīz* (وقفِ جائز), the sign of which is ج. This *waqf* is optional, *e.g.*, "She said, 'Kings when they enter a city spoil it, and abase the mightiest of its people' (ج) and in like manner will these also do" (Sūra lxviii, 34). In this case, by putting the pause after 'people,' the remaining words do not form part of the quotation; by omitting it, they would, and Balqīs, the Queen of Sheba, would be represented as saying, "In like manner will these also do."

(4.) *Waqf-i-Mujauwaz* (وقف مُجَوَّز), the sign of which is ز. This also is an optional pause, *e.g.*, Sūra ii, 80: "These are they who purchase this present life at the price of that which is to come (ز) their torment shall not be lightened."

أُولٰئِكَ الَّذِينَ اشْتَرَوُا الحَيوٰةَ الدُّنْيَا بِالْآخِرَةِ (ز) فَلَا يُخَفَّفُ عَنْهُمُ الْعَذَابُ

The particle ف usually connects a clause closely to the preceding one, in which case there would be no *waqf*; but on the other hand the verb يُخَفَّفُ comes early in the clause, and in such a case should be preceded by *waqf*. To reconcile these two opposing principles the pause is left optional. Such, at least, is the only explanation I have yet found of *Waqf-i-Mujauwaz*.

(5.) *Waqf-i-Murakhkhas* (وقف مُرَخَّص), the sign of which is ص. This is a pause which may be made when it is necessary to take breath. It comes between words which have no necessary connection with each other, *e.g.*, Sūra ii, 20: "Who hath made the earth a bed for you, and the heavens a

covering (ص) and hath caused water to come down from heaven." If this pause is made, the reader must commence at the beginning of the clause, that is, if he pauses after 'covering' he must begin after the pause at "who hath, &c."

All the pauses now described are ancient: they have been recognized from the earliest times. In later days the Qurān readers have invented several others. As these will be found in all Qurāns now in use, I give a short account of them.

1. *Qif* (قف) "pause." This frequently occurs, but in such places as to leave the meaning of the passage unaffected.

2. *Qāf* (ق). This is the symbol for قد قيل = "it is said." The ق thus expresses the fact that some persons of authority have said that a pause should be made in the place where it is inserted. It is an optional pause.

3. *Salī* (صلى) "connect." This shows that there must be no pause.

4. *Lā* (لا). This is the symbol for لا يوقف = "there is no pause."

5. *Sīn* (س). The initial letter of the word سكتة = "silence." A pause may be made in the recital, provided that the reader does not take breath in this place.

6. *Kāf* (ك). This is the first letter of the word كذلك = "in the same manner." It then means that where ك occurs a pause must be made similar in kind to the one immediately preceding.

7. Qalā (قلا). This is a shortened form of قيل لا = "some have said 'No.'" It is quite optional.

If over the circle O, denoting a full stop, any other symbol is written, due attention must be paid to it; if there are two or more symbols all should be observed. However, the one at the top is the most important, *e.g.*, ط ج O. In this case the *Waqf-i-Mutlaq* is superior to the *Waqf-i-jāīz*.

The following table shows how often the stops occur in the Qurān :—

س - سكته	لا	صلى	ق	قف	ص	ز	ج	ط	م
8	1,155	8	99	99	83	191	1,578	3,510	12

There are a few selected places in the Qurān where it is considered an act of merit to make a solemn pause, or to omit the pause if so directed.

1. *Mu'ānaqa* (مُعانقہ) = 'embracing.' This means that when two pauses come very close together, one may be omitted, *e.g.*, لَارَيْبَ (معانقہ ج) فيه (معانقہ ج). Here only one word فيه occurs between the two ج, the symbol for *Waqf-i-lāzim* : as مُعانقہ is written above each, it is sufficient if a pause is made in one place. The other signs for معانقہ are مُراقبہ, مُبادِل, مَع, and more frequently ⁂. The ancient authorities say that معانقہ occurs thirteen times in the Qurān ; the modern ones say eighteen.

2. *Waqf-i-Ghufrān* (وقف غُفران), "the pause of pardon." It is considered highly meritorious to pause whenever these words occur, for there is a tradition (حديث) to the effect that "He who observes *Waqf-i-Ghufrān* in the ten places in which it occurs, I will answer for his entrance into paradise." The lesser sins (گناه صغيرہ) of all who observe it are supposed to receive pardon. The ten places referred to by Muhammad are—

(1) Sūrat-ul-Mā,ida (v), v. 56 : "O Believers ! take not the Jews or Christians as friends" غفران.

(2) Sūrat-ul-An'ām (vi), v. 36 : "Will He make answer to those who only listen ?" غفران.

(3–4) Sūrat-us-Sijda (xxxii), v. 18: "Shall he then who is a believer be as a gross sinner (غفران) they shall not be held alike" غفران.

(5–9) Sūrat-ul-Yā,Sīn (xxxvi), vv. 11, 29, 52, 61, 81: "The traces they have left behind them" غفران "O the misery that rests upon my servants" غفران "Who hath roused us from our sleeping place" غفران "Worship me" غفران "Must not He who hath created the heavens and the earth be mighty enough to create your likes?" غفران.

(10) Sūrat-ul-Mulk (lxvii), v. 19: "Behold they not the birds over their heads, their wing outstretching and drawing in?" غفران.

3. *Waqf-i-Munazzal* (وقف منزل). This is also called *Waqf-i-Jibra,īl* (وقف جبرئيل), because it is said that in the six or eight places where the pause is indicated, Gabriel paused when reciting the Qurān to the Prophet.

4. *Waqf-un-Nabi* (وقف النبی), "pause of the Prophet." It is said that in some eleven or more places, additional to all that have been mentioned, the Prophet used to pause. It is now a meritorious act to observe this pause.

This concludes what may be termed the punctuation of the Qurān; but there still remain several signs and symbols which need explanation.

1. عب. This is ع, the initial letter of عشر (10), and ب, the first letter of بصری (Basra). This symbol denotes that a Basra 'Ashr ends here. As a Rukū' contains on an average about ten verses, it is here called by the term 'Ashr, ten; so عب means that according to the Qāris of Basra a Rukū' ends where this symbol is placed.

2. خب stands for Khams-i-Basra (خمس بصری) and denotes that five Basra verses ended here.

3. ى denotes that a Kūfa Rukū' or 'Ashr (عشر كوفى) ended here: sometimes عشر is written on the margin.

4. ه denotes that five Kūfa verses (خمس كوفى) ended here: sometimes خمس is written on the margin.

5. تب shows the end of a Basra verse.

6. لب shows the ending of a verse according to the Qāris of any other city than Basra.

The terms a Basra Rukū', five Kūfa verses, &c. refer to the divisions made by the Qāris of Kūfa or Basra. It is owing to this difference that the number of verses said to be in the Qurān varies. The Kūfa Qāris, following the قراءت (reading) of Imām 'Asim, reckon 6,239 verses; the Basra Qāris make out 6,204; the Qāris of Shām (Syria) 6,225; the Meccan verses are 6,219; the Madīna verses are 6,211. As Muslims when quoting from the Qurān—if they give any reference to the portion from whence the extract is taken—name the *Juz* and the *Rukū'*, not the surā and verse, it is necessary that the former should be marked in the margin. A *juz* is one-thirtieth part of the whole. Each *juz* has a distinct name, the first word of each portion serving for that purpose.

The term *rukū'* literally means a prostration. The collection of verses recited from the Qurān, ascriptions of praise offered to God, and various ritual acts connected with these, constitute one act of worship called a *rak'at*. After reciting some verses in a rak'at,[1] the worshipper makes a rukū' or prostration. The portion recited is then called a rukū'. Practically it is a division, averaging about ten verses. The sign of it is ع written in the margin. Frequently it occurs with as many as

٣
three figures, thus ع٩. The ٣ (3) on the top shows that this
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is the third *rukū'* from the commencement of the Sūra in which

[1] There are several rak'ats in a Namāz.

it occurs; the ٩ (9) in the centre gives the number of verses in this *rukū'*; the ٨ (8) at the bottom shows that this is the eighth rukū' in the juz. It is thus comparatively easy to verify a quotation if the juz and rukū' are named, but very few Muslim writers give such information. A verse or a few detached words are quoted, and it becomes an exceedingly difficult task to verify them. Every theologian is supposed to know the whole Qurān by heart, and so it is considered quite superfluous to give "chapter and verse," or rather juz and rukū'.

As it would be quite impossible to read the Qurān correctly unless it were written with the strictest attention to the ancient copies, this act of copying it, with the rules thereof, is known as Rasm-ul-khat (رَسْمُ الخَطّ). The copyist should follow the recension made in the time of the Khalīf Osmān. This rule is based on the Ijmā' (unanimous consent) of the Companions. It is believed that the whole book was brought by Gabriel from the copy on the "Preserved Tablet" (لوح محفوظ), and that he who alters a pause, or a letter, or who, without in the least altering the sense, adds or takes away even a letter, is guilty of a very grave offence. The consequence of this is that the spelling of many words in the Qurān follow special and peculiar rules, to which rules again there are many exceptions. The following are some of the rules of the *Rasm-ul-khat*.

1. The ا of masculine plurals ending in ون and ين is written above[2] the word if it occurs more than twice in the Qurān, if the ا is not followed by تشديد or همزه; *e.g.*,

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[2] Although I speak of the ا as written above, yet it must be remembered that it is only placed there for convenience and in order that the readers may remember it. It is called خنجرى الف (Khanjari Alif). Before the invention of the short vowels, &c. (اعراب) it would not have been written at all, and if a Qurān were now to be written without اعراب (a thing never done) this would not appear.

ظلمون not ظالمون, صدقين not صادقين. There are two words which do not occur more than twice, and are therefore exceptions; *e.g.*, ماكرين in the 3rd *juz*, 13th *rukū'* and in the 9th *juz*, 18th *rukū'*, راكعين in the 1st *juz*, 5th *rukū'*, and in the 3rd *juz*, 13th *rukū'*. There is one exception. The word لعنون, although it occurs only once, that is, in the 2nd juz, 3rd rukū', is not written لا عنون but لعنون, as though it occurred more than twice.

2. Final ا drops before an affixed pronoun, *e.g.*, أنجينكم not أنجيناكم.

3. The conjunction ان is never joined with the following word, *e.g.*, ان كنتم, ان هاء, not انكنتم and انشاء.

4. The ا of يا (O !) is never written, *e.g.*, يادم (O Adam!) not يا ادم ; يايها not يا ايها.

5. With the exception of five words, the lām (ل) of the definite article ال is joined by tashdīd to the initial lām of the following word, and only one lām is written, *e.g.*, اليل not الليل. The exceptions are اللوامة اللات لو اللو اللهو اللعبين هم اللعنون

6. The ا of the feminine plural ending in ات is written above, *e.g.*, مومنت not مومنات ; جنت not جنات, &c.

7. In such words as يحي and يستحي (yastahyi) the final ى is sounded twice, though only written once. The second ى may be written of a smaller size and in red ink, thus showing that it was not in the original text. If, however, a pronoun is affixed, the ى is written twice, *e.g.*, يحييكم

8. The following words substitute و for ا without any change in pronunciation, *e.g.*, صلوة, زكوة, حيوة, مشكوة, منوة. If,

however, any one of these words governs another word in the possessive case the ا returns, *e.g.*, صلاتك 'thy prayers,' صلاةالعبد, &c.

9. In such words as نبيّن , حواريّن the two ى are joined by تشديد, but in حسنيين, عليين they are separate; سيئة and خطيئة retain the second ى but place همزه over it.

10. The words اسرايل, جبريل should have همزه understood, but not written (except in red) before the (ى), thus جبرءيل. It reads Jibra,īl. The pronunciation جبريل (jibril) has arisen from the readers forgetting this rule.

11. The ا in تلاوته مساجد خصمان يعلمان اصحاب بنات قيامة يختصمان should be written above, thus مسجد اصحب بنة قيمة, &c.

12. In يسل يسلوا and the various forms of this verb همزه is used without ^ being under it. The usual form of the first would be يسال, the ا then becomes همزه يسئل; but to write it thus would be wrong: the ^ must not appear.

13. In the following words an ا appears at the end of each, though it is quite unnecessary and is not sounded, *e.g.*, يدعوا, ادعوا, يرجوا, يتلوا, ساتلوا, اشكروا, ليربوا. There is one exception to this rule. It occurs in the Sūrat-un-Nisā, يعفو عنهم "He pardons them."

14. The following, though plural forms, have no ا. باو and جاو in every place; فاو in the Sūrat-ul-Baqrā; سعو in the Sūrat-us-Sabā; عتو in the Sūrat-ul-Furqān; تبوه in Sūrat-ul-Hashr.

15. ا is in every instance inserted after اولو, *e.g.*, اولوا الالباب, اولوا العلم, &c.; ذو also takes ا after it in all places except six, viz., once each in Sūras Yūsuf, Mūmin, Jama', Burūj, and twice in Sūrat-us-Sijda.

16. The لام جارّه, that is, the ل which means 'for,' is in four places written apart from the word it governs, *e.g.*, فَمَا لِ هٰؤلاء in Sūrat-un-Nisā; مَا لِ هٰذا in Sūrat-ul-Kahf; مَا لِ هٰذا الرَّسُولِ in Sūrat-ul-Furqān; فَمَا لِ الّذين in Sūrat-ul-Ma'arij.

17. أَيُّهَا appears three times without ا, *e.g.*, أَيُّهْ. It is so altered once each in the Sūras Tauba, Zukraf and Rahmān.

18. The words داوُد, يَلْوُنَ, غَاوُنَ, يَسْتَوُنَ and similar words are pronounced as if there were two *waws* (و) in each, *e.g.*, Dāwūd, not Dāūd. The second و is sometimes written in red ink to remind the reader of this rule.

19. The ا of the pronoun أنا is not pronounced by all the readers, so لٰكِن أنا becomes لٰكِنّا. Imām Nāfī, a Qāri, always pronounced it.

20. Foreign words are written thus: ابرٰهيم, اسحٰق, اسمٰعيل, لقمٰن, هٰرون, عمرٰن, سُلَيْمٰن, not ابراهيم, اسحاق, &c. In the Sūrat-ul-Baqrā ابرٰهم instead of ابرٰهيم occurs once.

21. The ا of ظلمات and each ا which comes after ل (*i.e.*, اسلام) is written above, *e.g.*, ظلمٰت, اسلٰم, خلٰق, سلٰم, كلٰم, علٰم.

22. If a moveable hamza is preceded by a quiescent letter the ^ is not written under it, *e.g.*, يَسْـَٔلُ not يَسْئَلُ; أَلْأَفْـِٔدَة not أَلْأَفْئِدَة.

23. Some tenses are shortened, both in writing and reading, when with the next word there would be two jazms (جزم), *e.g.*, يَدْعُ الْأِنسانَ not يَدْعُوْالْأِنسانَ, Sūrat-ul-Asrā; يمحُ اللّٰهُ for يَمْحُوْاللّٰهُ, Sūrat-ul-Shūrā; يَدْعُ الدَّاعِ for يَدْعُوْالدَّاعِ, Sūrat-ul-Qamr; سَنَدْعُ الزَّبَانِيَة for سَنَدْعُوْالزبانية, Sūrat-ul-'Alaq; نُنْجِ الْمُومِنِيْنَ for نُنْجِيْ المومنين, Sūrat-ul-Yunas. In Sūrat-ul-Hūd there is one case where ى is dropped, although two jazms do not occur, *e.g.*, يَوْمَ يَاتِ لا for يوم ياتى لا.

24. In some words an extra ا is written but not pronounced in reading, *e.g.*, لاانفضوا : "Certainly, they would have broken away," Sūra iii, 153; لا الی الله : "Verily unto God," Sūra iii, 152; لااتبعنا كم : "Certainly we would have followed thee," Sūra iii, 160; لشاى for لشي : "of a thing," Sūra xviii, v. 23; لااتبعوك : "They would certainly have followed thee," Sūra ix, 42; لااوضعوا : "Certainly they had hurried about among you," Sūra ix, 47.

25. In some words the همزه takes ى as من نباى, Sūrat-ul-An,ām; من تلقاى نفسى in Sūrat-ul-Yūnas; ايتاى ذى in Sūrat-un-Naml; من اناى in Sūrat-ut-TāHā; من وراى الحجاب in Sūrat-ush-Shūra; البارى in Sūrat-ul-Hashr.

26. In لاملئن, "Certainly, I will fill," the ا is dropped and همزه is put without any ^ under it, *e.g.*, لاملئن. In Sūrat-ul-Ahzāb the last ا of the words الظنونا السبيلا الرسولا, is retained, contrary to the rule which says that when ال is prefixed the ا of the objective case drops. In Sūrat-ul-Quraish the words لالف قريش الفهم ("For the union of the Quraish, their union," &c.) are read as if written thus: لايلاف قريش ايلافهم, though the ى is not written.

A man who has any real claim to the honourable title of a Hāfiz must not only be conversant with all the details I have now given, but he must also know the 'various readings' (قراءت) of the seven famous Qāris (قارى). I have already given the names of these men. Each of them had two disciples. Such a disciple is called a Rāvi.[1] There are also three Qāris (each of whom also had two disciples), whose readings are sometimes used when the Qurān is recited privately, but not when used in a liturgical service.

[1] The word Rāvi literally means a "narrator." It is technically applied to those disciples of a Qāri who made known, or narrated, the 'readings' adopted by their master.

24

A tradition records that Abu Ibn Kāb being troubled in mind when he heard the Qurān recited in various ways spoke to the Prophet about it. “ His Highness said, ‘ O Abu Ibn Kāb ! intelligence was sent to me to read the Qurān in one dialect, and I was attentive to the Court of God, and said : ‘ Make the reading of the Qurān easy to my sects.’ These instructions were sent to me the second time saying : ‘ Read the Qurān in two dialects.’ Then I turned myself to the Court of God saying : ‘ Make the reading of the Qurān easy to my sects.’ Then a voice came to me the third time saying : ‘ Read the Qurān in seven dialects.’ ”

This justifies the use of ‘ seven readings ’ (هفت قراءت).

Jalāl-ud-dīn in his famous commentary follows the qirā,at of the Qāri Imām Abu Umr. Those who belong to the Mazhab (sect) of Imām As Shāfa’i prefer this qirā,at. Imām ’Āsim had two famous disciples, Abu Bakr and Hafs. The qirā,at of Hafs, or rather of ’Āsim as made known by Hafs, is the one almost universally used in India. The qirā,at of Nāfi of Madīna is preferred in Arabia, and is highly valued by most theological writers.

In many cases the sense is not at all affected, but the difference has given rise to many disputes. In the year 323 A.H. Ibn Shanabud, a resident of Baghdād, recited the Qurān, using a qirā,at not familiar to his audience. He was severely punished and had to adopt a more familiar ‘ reading.’

In order to show the nature of the changes thus made, I shall now give in a tabular form all the various readings of the last juz (جز) of the Qurān. I select this portion because it is the part most commonly used in the Namāz.

Each of the seven Qāris had two Rāvis, or disciples, from whose testimony the qirā,at approved of by their master is known. The three Qāris of lesser note also had two disciples each. It occasionally happens that there is a difference of opinion between the two followers of some particular Qāri

with regard to the reading their master preferred. In order to show this diversity of opinion, each Rāvi, as well as each Qāri, has a distinctive letter, which is technically known as the 'ramz' (رمز pl.. رموز). When both of the Rāvis agree as to the reading preferred by their master, the ramz of the Qāri only is inserted on the margin of the Qurān. It is not then necessary to add the ramūz of the Rāvis, because it is only by their evidence that the qirā,at of the Qāri is known. They never give an opinion of their own on the text, but only bear witness to the opinion of their master.[1] If, however, the ramz of one of the two Rāvis is given, it signifies that according to his testimony the qirā,at he gives is the one approved of by the Qāri whose disciple he is. If the two Rāvis differ in their evidence as to their master's opinion, the ramz of each Rāvi is given with the qirā,at each contends for as the one approved of by his master.

In the tabular form I shall use the letter (ramz) by which each Qāri and each Rāvi is known, instead of continually repeating the name in full; but I must first give the letters (Ramūz) alluded to. In the following table the distinctive letter will be inserted under the name of each Qāri and of each Rāvi.

The seven Qāris and their disciples (راویان) :—

	قاری	راوی اول	راوی دویم
1.	نافع مدنی ا	قالون ب	ورش ج
2.	ابن کثیر مکی د	بزّی ه	قنبل ز
3.	ابو عمر بصری ح	دوری ط	سوسی ی
4.	ابن عامر شامی ك	هشّام ل	ابن ذکوان م

[1] All that a critical Muslim can now do is to ascertain the 'readings' adopted by the Qāris; there can be no further emendation of the text, which is by the orthodox supposed to be perfect.

حفص ع	ابوبکر ص	5. عاصم کوفی ن
ابو عیسی خلّاد ق	خلف بزاز ض	6. حمزہ کوفی ف
دوری ت	ابوالحارث س	7. کسائی کوفی ر

The three Qāris of lesser note and their disciples are thus distinguished :—

راوی دویم	راوی اول	قاری
ابن جماز ذ	عیسی خ	1. ابو جعفر ث
روح ش	رویس غ	2. یعقوب ظ
ادریس یس	اسحق وراق حق	3. خلف کوفی لف

In the following table the first column contains the words of which there are different readings; the second, the symbolic letters (رموز) of the Qāris and Rāvis who approve of the reading as given in the first column; the third column includes under the term والباقون (others) the names of all Qāris and Rāvis not given in the second; the fourth column gives the reading preferred by the authorities represented in the third column. For example :—

مَالك ظ ن ر لف | والباقون مَلِك

From this it appears the Qāris Ya'qub (ظ), 'Asim (ن), Kisā,ī (ر), and Khalaf-i-Kūfi (لف), approved of the reading Mālik (مَالك); whereas every other Qāri approved of Malik (مَلِك). As a general rule there are only two 'readings.'

Sūrat-ul-Fātiha—سورة الفاتحه[1]

مَالك	ظ ن ر لف	والباقون	مَلِك
الرَّحِيمْ مَّلِك	ی	والباقون	الرَّحِيمِ مَلِكِ

[1] The Sūrat-ul-Fātiha is the opening Sūra of the first juz, but I have introduced it here as it occupies such an important place in the Namāz. The Sūrat-un-Nabā is the first Sūra of the last juz, or Juz-i-'Am (عم), of which all the various 'readings' are now given.

الصراط	والباقون	زغ	السراط
صراط	والباقون	زغ	سراط
		ظ ف	عَلَيْهُمْ
عَلَيْهِمْ	والباقون	د ث ب	(*) عَلَيْهِمُو

Sūrat-un-Nabā—سورة النبا

هُمْ	والباقون	د ث ب	هُمُو
ٱلْأَرْضَ	والباقون	ج	لَرْضَ
خَلَقْنَٰكُمْ	والباقون	د ب ث	خَلَقْنَٰكُمُو
نَوْمَكُمْ	والباقون	د ب ث	نَوْمَكُمُو
ٱلَّيْلَ لِبَاساً	والباقون	ى	الَّيْلَ لِّبَاساً
فَوْقَكُمْ	والباقون	د ث ـ ب	فَوْقَكُمُو
وَجَنَّٰتٍ أَلْفَافاً	والباقون	ج ف	وَجَنَّٰتٍنَ أَلْفَافاً
فَتَأْتُونَ	والباقون	ج ى ث	فَتَاتُونَ
وَفُتِحَتْ	والباقون	ا د ح ك	وَفُتِّحَتْ
فَكَانَتْ سَرَاباً	والباقون	ا د ظ ك ن	فَكَانَتْ سَرَاباً
لَابِثِينَ	والباقون	ش ف	لَبِثِينَ
وَغَسَاقاً	والباقون	ع ف رلف	وَغَسَّاقاً

* The و placed under the م signifies that ـُ is to be read as a long vowel. It is in accordance with the Rasm-ul-Khat to write ُو not ُ at the end of words where a ضمه (ـُ) would come.

إِنَّهُمُو	د ث ـ ب	والباقون	إِنَّهُمْ
شَيْءٍ نِ احْصَيْنَهُ	ج	والباقون	شَيْءٍ أَحْصَيْنَهُ
نَزِيدَكُمُو إِلَّا	ا ث د	والباقون	نَزِيدَكُمْ إِلَّا
وَكَاساً	ى ث	والباقون	وَكَأْساً
وَلَا كِذَاباً	ر	والباقون	وَلَا كِذَّاباً
رَبِّ	ط ك ن ف ر لف	والباقون	رَبُّ
الرَّحْمٰنِ	ط ك ن ف ر لف	والباقون	الرَّحْمٰنُ
وَالْمَلٰٓئِكَةُ صَّفاً	ى	والباقون	الْمَلٰٓئِكَةُ صَفّاً
أَذِنْ لَّهُ	ى	والباقون	أَذِنَ لَهُ
شَاءَ	ف م خلف ـ ل	والباقون	شَاءَ
أَنْذَرْنَكُمُو	د ث ـ ب	والباقون	أَنْذَرْنَكُمْ

سورة النّٰزعٰت

وَالسّٰبِحٰتِ سَّبْحاً	ى	والباقون	وَالسّٰبِحٰتِ سَبْحاً
فَالسّٰبِقٰتِ سَّبْقاً	ى	والباقون	فَالسّٰبِقٰتِ سَبْقاً
الرَّاجِفَةُ تَّتْبَعُهَا	ى	والباقون	الرَّاجِفَةُ تَتْبَعُهَا
الرَّادِفَهْ وقفا	ف ر	والباقون	الرَّادِفَةْ
وَاجِفَهْ وقفا	ف ر	والباقون	وَاجِفَةْ
خَاشِعَهْ وقفا	ف ر	والباقون	خَاشِعَةْ
إِنَّا	ث	والباقون	ءَإِنَّا
ءَاِنَّا	ب ح ل	ايضا	ايضا
الْحَافِرَهْ	ف ر	والباقون	الْحَافِرَةْ
إِذَا كُنَّا	ا ط ك ر	والباقون	ءَإِذَا كُنَّا
ءَاِذَا كُنَّا	ب	ايضا	ايضا

وَاجِفَةٌ نَ اَبْصَارُهَا		ج	والباقون	وَاجِفَةٌ اَبْصَارُهَا
نَاخِرَةً		ف ص ش غ لف	والباقون	نَخِرَةً
نَاخِرَهْ	وقفا	ف ش	ايضا	ايضا
نَخِرَهْ	وقفا	ت	ايضا	ايضا
خَاسِرَهْ	وقفا	ف ر	والباقون	خَاسِرَةً
فَاِذَاهُمْ		د ش - ب	والباقون	فَاِذَاهُمْ
و بِالسَّاهِرَهْ		ف ر	والباقون	بِالسَّاهِرَةِ
هَلْ اَتٰكَ		ف ر	والباقون	هَلْ اَتٰكَ
مُوسٰى		ج ح ف ر	والباقون	مُوسٰى
نَادٰيهُ		ج ف ر	والباقون	نَادٰهُ
بِالْوَادِىْ		ط	والباقون	بِالْوَادِ
طُوًى		ك ن ف ر لف	والباقون	طُوٰى
طُوٰى		ج ح	والباقون	طُوٰى
طُوًى نِ اذْهَبْ		رك ف	والباقون	طُوٰى * اذْهَبْ
اذْهَبِ اِلٰى		ج	والباقون	اذْهَبْ اِلٰى
طَغٰى		ج ح ف ر	والباقون	طَغٰى
تَزَّكّٰى		ا د ط	والباقون	تَزَكّٰى
تَزَكّٰى		ج ح ف ر	والباقون	تَزَكّٰى
فَتَخْشٰى		ج ح ف ر	والباقون	فَتَخْشٰى
فَاَرٰيهُ		ج ح ف ر - م	والباقون	فَاَرٰيهُ
فَاَرٰيهُ لْاٰيَةَ		ج	والباقون	فَاَرٰيهُ الْاٰيَةَ
الْكُبْرٰى		ج ح ف ر	والباقون	الْكُبْرٰى
عَصٰى		ج ح ف ر	والباقون	عَصٰى
يَسْعٰى		ج ح ف ر	والباقون	يَسْعٰى

فَنَادٰى	ج ح ف ر	والباقون	فَنَادٰى
اَلْاَعْلٰى	ج ح ف ر	والباقون	اَلْاَعْلٰى
لَاَعْلٰى	ج	والباقون	اَلْاَعْلٰى
وَلَلْاُولٰى	ج	والباقون	وَالْاُولٰى
وَالْاُولٰى	ف ح	والباقون	وَالْاُولٰى
يَخْشٰى	ج ح ف ر	والباقون	يَخْشٰى
ءَاَنْتُمْ	ن ف رش لف م	ايضا	ايضا
ءَآنْتُمْ	ل	ايضا	ايضا
تسـ ءَاَنْتُمْ		والباقون	تسـ ءَاَنْتُمْ
خَلْقًا نَ امِ السَّمَآءُ	ج	والباقون	خَلْقًا اَمِ السَّمَآءُ

بَنٰهَا - فسوٰيها - ضُحٰهَا - دَحٰهَا - مَرْعٰهَا - اَرْسٰهَا - مُرْسٰيهَا - مُنْتَهٰهَا - يَخْشٰهَا - ضُحٰهَا
اَمالَها حَمزة والكسائى مَحضَةً وقلّلها ورشٌ وابوعمرو باختلافٍ فيهما لكنّ خرج حمزة عن اصلِهِ فى دَحٰها فلم يُمِلْها

وَلَرْضَ	ج	والباقون	وَالْاَرْضَ
لَكُمُو	د ث ـ ب	والباقون	لَكُمْ
وَلِاَنْعَامِكُمُو	د ث ـ ب	والباقون	وَلِاَنْعَامِكُمْ
جَآءَتْ	ف م لف	والباقون	جَآءَتْ
اَلْكُبْرٰى	ج ح ف ر	والباقون	اَلْكُبْرٰى
لِانْسَانُ	ج	والباقون	اَلْاِنْسَانُ
مَاسَعٰى	ج ح ف ر	والباقون	مَاسَعٰى
يَرٰى	ج ح ف ر	والباقون	يَرٰى
طَغٰى	ج ح ف ر	والباقون	طَغٰى
الدُّنْيَا	ف رج ح	والباقون	الدُّنْيَا

ٱلْمَاوِى ٢ جاي	ف رج ح	والباقون	ٱلْمَاوَى
ٱلْمَاوِى	شى ف	والباقون	ٱلْمَأْوَى
خَافِ	ف	والباقون	خَافَ
ٱلْهَوِى	ف رج ح	والباقون	ٱلْهَوَى
(فيم) فِيمَهْ وقفا	ظ هـ	والباقون	فِيمَ
مِنْ ذِكْرِيهَا	ح ف رج لف	والباقون	مِنْ ذِكْرَيهَا
مُنْذِرٌ	ث	والباقون	مُنْذِرُ
كَأَنَّهُمْ	د ث ـ ب	والباقون	كَأَنَّهُمْ
وعَشِيَّةً نَ أَوْضُحِهَا	ج	والباقون	عَشِيَّةً أَوْضُحَهَا

سورة عبس

تَوَلِّي - ٱلْأَعْمِى - يَزَّكِّي - ٱسْتَغْنِى - تَصَدِّى - أَلَّا يَزَكِّي - يَسْعِي - يَخْشِى - تَلَهِّى -
امالها حمزة والكسائى وخلف وقللها ورش وأبوعمرو بخلفهما والباقون بالفتح*

جِاءَ	م ف لف	والباقون	جَاءَ
فَتَنْفَعُهُ	ن	والباقون	فَتَنْفَعُهُ
ٱلذِّكْرِى	ف رح م	والباقون	ٱلذِّكْرَى
تَصَّدِّى	أ د	والباقون	تَصَدَّى
جَاءَ	م ف لف	والباقون	جَاءَ
وَهُوَ	ج د ظ ك ن ف لف	والباقون	وَهْوَ
عَنْهُ تَلَهِّى	ز		
و عَنْهُ تَّلَهِّى	هـ	والباقون	عَنْهُ تَلَهَّى
شِاءَ	ف م خلف	والباقون	شَاءَ
قُتِلَ لِانْسَانُ	ج	والباقون	قُتِلَ ٱلْإِنْسَانُ
مِنَ اِيِّ شَيْءٌ	ج	والباقون	مِنْ أَيِّ شَيْءٍ

هٰٓ أَنشَرَهُ	ب هـ ح		
شَآءَ أَنشَرَهُ	ث ج ز غ	والباقون	شَآءَ أَنشَرَهُ
لِانسَانُ	ج	والباقون	الإِنسَانَ
أَنَّا صَبَبْنَا	ن ف رلف	والباقون	إِنَّا صَبَبْنَا
لَرْضَ	ج	والباقون	الأَرْضَ
لَكُمْ و	د ث ـ ب	والباقون	لَكُمْ
وَلِأَنْعَامِكُمْ و	د ث ـ ب	والباقون	وَلِأَنْعَامِكُمْ
جَآءَتِ	م ف لف	والباقون	جَآءَتِ
مِنَ اخِيهِ	ج	والباقون	مِنْ أَخِيهِ
مِنْهُمْ و	د ث ـ ب	والباقون	مِنْهُمْ
شَانٌ	ث ى	والباقون	شَأْنٌ
قَتَرَهْ وقفا	ف ر	والباقون	قَتَرَةٌ
الْفَجَرَهْ وقفا	ف ر	والباقون	الْفَجَرَةُ

سورة التكوير

سُجِّرَتْ	ا ك ن ف رلف	والباقون	سُجِرَتْ
النُّفُوسُ زُوِّجَتْ	ى	والباقون	النُّفُوسُ زُوِّجَتْ
الْمَوْءُدَةُ سُئِلَتْ	ى	والباقون	الْمَوْءُدَةُ سُئِلَتْ
سُوِلَتْ وقفا	ف	والباقون	سُئِلَتْ
قُتِّلَتْ	ث	والباقون	قُتِلَتْ
نُشِرَتْ	ا ظ ك ن	والباقون	نُشِّرَتْ
سُعِّرَتْ	ا م ع ـ ص	والباقون	سُعِرَتْ
الْجَوَارِ	ت	والباقون	الْجَوَارِ
الْجَوَارِى وقفا	ظ	والباقون	الْجَوَارِ

صَاحِبُكُمُو	د ث ـ ب	والباقون	صَاحِبُكُمْ
رَاٰهُ	ط		
رِاٰهُ	ك ص ى ف رج	والباقون	رَاٰهُ
بِلُفُقِ	ج	والباقون	بِالْاُفُقِ
اَلْغَيْبِ بِظَنِيْنٍ	ى	والباقون	اَلْغَيْبِ بِضَنِيْنٍ
شَاءَ	ف م لف	والباقون	شَاءَ

سورة الانفطار

يَاَيُّهَالِانْسَانُ	ج	والباقون	يَاَيُّهَاالْاِنْسَانُ
فَسَوّٰكَ	ف ر ـ ج	والباقون	فَسَوّٰكَ
فَعَدَلَكَ	ن ف رلف	والباقون	فَعَدَّلَكَ
شَاءَ	ف م لف	والباقون	شَاءَ
بَل تُّكَذِّبُونَ	ف رل	والباقون	بَلْ تُكَذِّبُونَ
عَلَيْكُمُو	د ث ـ ب	والباقون	عَلَيْكُمْ
كِرَامًا	ج	والباقون	كِرَامًا
اِن لَّبْرَارَ	ج	والباقون	اِنَّ الْاَبْرَارَ
الْاَبْرَارَ		والباقون	اَلْاَبْرَارَ
هُمُو	د ث ـ ب	والباقون	هُمْ
وَمَآ اَدْرٰىكَ	ح ف رلف ج ـ م ص	والباقون	وَمَآ اَدْرٰىكَ
مَآ اَدْرٰىكَ	ح ف رلف ج ـ م ص	والباقون	مَآ اَدْرٰىكَ
يَوْمَ لَا تَمْلِكُ	ا ث ك ن ر د لف	والباقون	يَوْمُ لَا تَمْلِكُ
شَيًّا ـ شَيَا وقفا	ل ف	والباقون	شَيْئًا
وَلَمْرُ	ج	والباقون	وَالْاَمْرُ

سورة التطفيف

النّاس	ط	والباقون	النّاسِ
كَالُوهُمْ و	د ث ـ ب	والباقون	كَالُوهُمْ
أَوْوَزَنُوهُمْ و	د ث ـ ب	والباقون	أَوْوَزَنُوهُمْ
أَنَّهُمْ و	د ث ـ ب	والباقون	أَنَّهُمْ
الْفُجَّارِ	ج ح م ت	والباقون	الْفُجَّارِ
الْفُجَّارْ لَفِى	ى	والباقون	الْفُجَّارِ لَفِي
أَدْرٰكَ	ح رف لف ـ م ص	والباقون	أَدْرٰكَ
يُكَذِّبُ بِهِ	ى	والباقون	يُكَذِّبُ بِهِ
مُعْتَدِنَ اثِيمٍ	ج	والباقون	مُعْتَدٍ أَثِيمٍ
تُتْلٰى	ج رف	والباقون	تُتْلٰى
لَوَّلِينَ	ج	والباقون	أَلْأَوَّلِينَ
س بَلْ رَانَ	ع	والباقون	بَلْ رَّانَ
بَلْ رَّانَ	ع		
رَانَ	ف رص	والباقون	رَانَ
قُلُوبِهِمْ و	د ث ـ ب	والباقون	قُلُوبِهِمْ
أَنَّهُمْ و	د ث ـ ب	والباقون	أَنَّهُمْ
رَبِّهِمْ و	د ث ـ ب	والباقون	رَبِّهِمْ
أَنَّهُمْ	د ث ـ ب	والباقون	أَنَّهُمْ
كُنْتُمْ	د ث ـ ب	والباقون	كُنْتُمْ
كِتٰبَ لَبْرَارِ	ج	والباقون	كِتٰبَ الْأَبْرَارِ

أَدْرٰيكَ	ح رف لف ج ـ م ص	والباقون	أَدْرٰيكَ
اِنَّ لَبْرَارَ	ج	والباقون	اِنَّ الْاَبْرَارَ
عَلٰى لَرَآئِك	ج	والباقون	عَلَى الْاَرَائِك
فِي وُجُوهِهِمْ	د ث ـ ب	والباقون	فِي وُجُوهِهِمْ
تُعْرَفُ	ث ظ	والباقون	تَعْرِفُ
نَضْرَةَ	ث ظ	والباقون	نَضْرَةَ
خَاتَمُهُ	ر	والباقون	خِتٰمُهُ
بِهِمْ	د ث ـ ب	والباقون	بِهِمْ
أَهْلِهِمِ انْقَلَبُوا	ظ		
أَهْلِهِمُ انْقَلَبُوا	ف رلف	والباقون	أَهْلِهِمُ انْقَلَبُوا
فَكِهِينَ	ع ث ـ ك	والباقون	فَاكِهِينَ
رَأَوْهُمْ	د ث ـ ب	والباقون	رَأَوْهُمْ
عَلَيْهِمُ	ف ظ		
عَلَيْهِمْ	د ث ـ ب	والباقون	عَلَيْهِمْ
الْكُفَّارِ	ج ح م ت	والباقون	الْكُفَّارِ
عَلَى لَرَائِك	ج	والباقون	عَلَى الْاَرَائِك
هَلْ ثُّوِّبَ	ل ف ر	والباقون	هَلْ ثُوِّبَ

سورة الانشقاق

وَاِذَا لَرْضُ	ج	والباقون	وَاِذَا الْاَرْضُ
يٰاَيُّهَالِنْسَانُ	ج	والباقون	يٰاَيُّهَا الْاِنْسَانُ
اِنَّكَ كَادِحٌ	ی	والباقون	اِنَّكَ كَادِحٌ
كَادِحُنِ اِلٰى	ج	والباقون	كَادِحٌ اِلٰى
رَبِّكَ كَدْحًا	ی	والباقون	رَبِّكَ كَدْحًا

مَنْ أُوتِیَ (س)	ض م	والباقون	مَنْ أُوتِیَ
وَيُصَلَّى	ا د ك ر	والباقون	وَيَصْلَىٰ
وَيَصلى	ف ر-ج	والباقون	وَيصلىٰ
بَلَى	ف ر-ج	والباقون	بلىٰ
فَلَآ أُقْسِمُ بِالشَّفَقِ	ى	والباقون	فَلَآ أُقْسِمُ بِالشَّفَقِ
لَتَرْكَبَنَّ	د ف ر	والباقون	لَتَرْكَبُنَّ
فَمَا لَهُمْ و	د ث-ب	والباقون	فَمَا لَهُمْ
لَا يُومِنُونَ	ج ى	والباقون	لَا يُؤْمِنُونَ
قُرِیَ	ث	والباقون	قُرِئَ
عَلَيْهِمُ الْقُرانُ	ف رلف		
عَلَيْهِمِ الْقران	ح ط	والباقون	عَلَيْهِمُ الْقران
الْقُرَانُ	د	والباقون	الْقُرْآنُ
أَعْلَمُ بِمَا يُوعُونَ	ى	والباقون	أَعْلَمُ بِمَا يُوعُونَ
فَبَشِّرْهُمْ و	د ث-ب	والباقون	فَبَشِّرْهُمْ
بِعَذَابِ نَ الِيمِ نِ الَّا	ج	والباقون	بِعَذَابٍ أَلِيمٍ * إِلَّا
لَهُمْ و	د ث-ب	والباقون	لَهُمْ

سورة البروج

أَصْحٰبُ لُخْدُودِ	ج	والباقون	أَصْحٰبُ الْأُخْدُودِ
النَّار	ح ت-م ج	والباقون	النَّار
إِذْ هُمْ	د ث-ب	والباقون	إِذْ هُمْ
وَهُمْ	د ث-ب	والباقون	وَهُمْ
بِالْمُومِنِينَ	ج ى	والباقون	بِالْمُؤْمِنِينَ
يُومِنُوا	ج ى	والباقون	يُؤْمِنُوا

وَلَرْضِ	ج	والباقون	وَالْأَرْضِ
الْمُو مِنِينَ	ج ى	والباقون	الْمُؤْمِنِينَ
وَالْمُومِنٰتِ	ج ى	والباقون	وَالْمُؤْمِنٰتِ
وَالْمُومِنٰتِ ثُمَّ	ى	والباقون	وَالْمُؤْمِنٰتِ ثُمَّ
فَلَهُمُو	د ث ـ ب	والباقون	فَلَهُمْ
وَلَهُمُ	د ث ـ ب	والباقون	وَلَهُمْ
لَهُمُ	د ث ـ ب	والباقون	لَهُمْ
لَانْهٰرُ	ج	والباقون	الْأَنْهٰرُ
اِنَّهُ هُوَ	ى	والباقون	إِنَّهُ هُوَ
وَهُوَ	ج د ظ ك ن ف لف	والباقون	وَهْوَ
الْمَجِيدِ	ف رلف	والباقون	الْمَجِيدُ
هَلَ اتٰىكَ	ج	والباقون	هَلْ أَتٰىكَ
اَتٰىكَ	ف رج	والباقون	أَتٰىكَ
وَرَائِهِمُو	د ث ـ ب	والباقون	وَرَائِهِمْ
مَحْفُوظٌ	ا	والباقون	مَحْفُوظٍ

سورة الطّارق

اَدْرٰيكَ	ح رف لف ـ م ص	والباقون	أَدْرٰيكَ
لَمَّا	ش ك ن ف	والباقون	لَمَا
لانْسَانُ	ج	والباقون	الْإِنْسَانُ
مِمَّهْ وقفا (مِمَّ)	ظ ه	والباقون	مِمَّا
اِنَّهُمُ	د ث ب	والباقون	إِنَّهُمْ
الْكٰفِرِينَ	ح ت ج ـ م	والباقون	الْكٰفِرِينَ
اَمْهِلْهُمُو	د ث ـ ب	والباقون	أَمْهِلْهُمْ

سورة الاعلى

أَلْأَعْلٰى - فَسَوّٰى - فَهَدٰى - أَلْمَرْعٰى - أَحْوٰى - فَلَاتَنْسٰى - يَخْفٰى - يَخْشٰى - أَلْأَشْقٰى - لَايَحْيٰى - تَزَكّٰى - فَصَلّٰى - الدُّنْيَا - أَبْقٰى - أَلْأُوْلٰى - مُوْسٰى* امالها حمزة والكسائى وقلّلها ورش وابو عمرو بخلفه *

لَأَعْلٰى	ج	والباقون	أَلْأَعْلٰى

لِلْيُسْرٰى - الذِّكْرٰى - الْكُبْرٰى* اما لها حمزة والكسائى وابو عمرو وقللها ورش*

قَدَرَ	ر	والباقون	قَدَّرَ
غُثَانَ احْوٰى	ج	والباقون	غُثَاءً أَحْوٰى
شَآءَ	ف م لف	والباقون	شَآءَ
فَذَكِّرَانْ	ج	والباقون	فَذَكِّرْ اِنْ
لَاشْقٰى	ج	والباقون	أَلْأَشْقٰى
قَدَ افْلَحَ	ج	والباقون	قَدْ أَفْلَحَ
يُوثِرُونَ	ى		
تُوثِرُونَ	ج	والباقون	تُؤْثِرُونَ
بَلْ تُّؤْثِرُونَ	ل ف ر	والباقون	بَلْ تُوثِرُونَ
وَلَاخِرَةُ	ج	والباقون	وَالْأٰخِرَةُ
لُولٰى	ج	والباقون	أَلْأُوْلٰى

سورة الغاشية

هَلَ اتٰيكَ	ج	والباقون	هَلْ أَتٰيكَ
أَتٰيكَ	ف رج	والباقون	أَتٰيكَ
تُصْلٰى	ح ص	والباقون	تَصْلٰى
تَصْلٰى	ف ر-ج	والباقون	تَصْلٰى
تُسْقٰى	ف ر-ج	والباقون	تُسْقٰى

عَيْنٍ نٰ انِيَةٍ	ج	والباقون	عَيْنٍ اٰنِيَةٍ
انِيَةٍ	ل	والباقون	اٰنِيَةٍ
لَهُمْ	د ث ـ ب	والباقون	لَهُمْ
طَعَامُنِ الَّا	ج	والباقون	طَعَامٌ اِلَّا
لَا تُسْمَعُ	ا		
لَا تَسْمَعُ	ث ش ك ن ف رلف	والباقون	لَا يَسْمَعُ
لَاغِيَةٌ	ا د ح	والباقون	لَاغِيَةً
اِلٰى لَا بِلِ	ج	والباقون	اِلَى الْاَبِلِ
وَاِلٰى لَرْضِ	ج	والباقون	وَاِلَى الْاَرْضِ
فَذَكِّرِ انَّمَا	ج	والباقون	فَذَكِّرْ اِنَّمَا
عَلَيْهِمْ و عَلَيْهُمْ	د ث ـ ب	والباقون	عَلَيْهِمْ
		ايضا	ايضا
بِمُسَيْطِرٍ	ل		
بِمُصَيْطِرٍ (ز)	ف		
بِمُصَيْطِرٍ	زاع	والباقون	بِمُصَيْطِرٍ
بِمُسَيْطِرٍ	ايضا		
بِمُصَيْطِرِنِ الَّا (س)	ج	والباقون	بِمُصَيْطِرٍ اِلَّا (ز س)
تَوَلّٰي	ف ر ـ ج	والباقون	تَوَلّٰى
الْعَذَابَ لَاكْبَرَ	ج	والباقون	الْعَذَابَ الْاَكْبَرَ
اِيَابَهُمْ و	د ث ـ ب	والباقون	اِيَابَهُمْ

سورة الفجر

وَالْوِتْرِ	ف رلف	والباقون	وَالْوَتْرِ
يَسْرِى (فى الحالين) د			

يَسْرِی (فی الوصل)	اح ث	والباقون	يَسْرِ	(فی الحالین)
ذٰلِكَ قَّسَمٌ	ی	والباقون	ذٰلِكَ قَسَمٌ	
كَيْفَ فَّعَلَ	ی	والباقون	كَيْفَ فَعَلَ	
بِعَادِ نِ اَرَمَ	ج	والباقون	بِعَادٍ اِرَمَ	
بِالْوَادِی (وصلاً)	ج			
بِالْوَادِی (فی الحالین)	د			
بِالْوَادِ (وقفاً) خفف	ز	والباقون	بِالْوَادِ	(فی الحالین)
ذِی لْوَتَادِ	ج	والباقون	ذِی الْاَوْتَادِ	
عَلَيْهُمْ				
عَلَيْهِمْ	د ث ـ ب	والباقون	عَلَيْهِمْ	
عَذَابِ نِ ان	ج	والباقون	عَذَابٍ * اِنَّ	
لِانْسَانُ	ج	والباقون	اَلْاِنْسَانُ	
اِبْتَلٰهُ	ف ر ـ ج	والباقون	اَبْتَلٰهُ	
رَبِّیْ اكرمن	ط ك ن ف ر لف	والباقون	رَبِّیَ اكرمن	
اَكْرَمَنِی فی الحالین)	هـ ط			
اَكْرَمَنِی (فی الوصل)	ا ث	والباقون	اَكْرَمَنِ	(فی الحالین)
فَقَدَّرَ	ك	والباقون	فَقَدَرَ	
رَبِّیْ اهانن	ط ك ن ف رلف	والباقون	رَبِّیَ اهانن	
اَهَانَنِی	هـ ط			
اَهَانَنِیْ (فی الوصل)	ا ث	والباقون	اَهَانَنِ	(فی الحالین)
لَا يُكْرِمُونَ	ح	والباقون	لَا تُكْرِمُونَ	
وَلَا يَحُضُّونَ	ح			
وَلَا تَحُضُّونَ	ا د ك	والباقون	وَلَا تَحَاضُّونَ	
يَاكُلُونَ	ح	والباقون	تَاكُلُونَ	
يَاكُلُونَ	ی	والباقون	يَاْكُلُونَ	

تاكلون	ج	والباقون	تأكلون
يحبون	ح	والباقون	تحبون
لرض	ج	والباقون	الأرض
وجاىء (بالاشمام)	رل	والباقون	وجاىء
لانسان	ج	والباقون	الانسان
وأنى	ف ر ـ ج ط	والباقون	وأنى
لا يعذب	ر	والباقون	لا يعذب
ولا يوثق	ر	والباقون	ولا يوثق
الذكرى	ف رح ج	والباقون	الذكرى

سورة البلد

لانسان	ج	والباقون	الانسان
أيحسب	ك ش ن ف	والباقون	أيحسب
لبدا	ث	والباقون	لبدا
أيحسب	ك ش ن ف	والباقون	أيحسب
أن لم يره	ل ث	والباقون	أن لم يره
أدريك	ح ر ف لف ـ م ص ج	والباقون	أدريك
رقبة ن او اطعام	ج	والباقون	رقبة أو اطعام
فك	ا د ح ر	والباقون	فك
رقبة	ا د ح ر	والباقون	رقبة
أو أطعم	ا د ح ر	والباقون	أو اطعام
ذا مقربة ن أو	ج	والباقون	ذا مقربة أو
بآياتناهم	د ث ـ ا	والباقون	بآياتناهم
عليهم	ظ ف		
عليهم	د ث ـ ب	والباقون	عليهم
موصدة	ا د ث ك ص ر ـ ف (فى الوقف)	والباقون	مؤصدة

سورة الشمس

ضُحىٰهَا - تَلٰىهَا - جَلّٰهَا - يَغْشٰىهَا - بَنٰهَا - طَحٰىهَا - سَوّٰىهَا - تَقْوٰىهَا - زَكّٰهَا - دَسّٰهَا بِطَغْوٰىهَا - أَشْقٰىهَا - سُقْيٰهَا - فَسَوّٰىهَا - عُقْبٰيهَا - اما لها حمزة والكسائى وخلف وقللها ابوعمرو وورش بالخلاف عنه اما خرج حمزة عن اصله فى تلٰىهَا وطحٰىها فلم يملهما*

النهار	ح ت م - ج	والباقون	ٱلنَّهَار
وَلَرْضِ	ج	والباقون	وَٱلْأَرْضِ
قَدَافْلَحَ	ج	والباقون	قَدْأَفْلَحَ
خابَ	ف	والباقون	خَاب
كَذَّبَتْ ثَّمُودُ	ح ف رل م	والباقون	كَذَّبَتْ ثَمُودُ
فَقَالْ لَهُمْ	ى	والباقون	فَقَالَ لَهُمْ
لَهُمُ	د ث - ب	والباقون	لَهُمْ
عَلَيْهُمْ	ظ ف		
عَلَيْهِمُ و	د ث - ب	والباقون	عَلَيْهِمْ
رَبُّهُمُ و	د ث - ب	والباقون	رَبُّهُمْ
بِذَنْبِهِمُ و	د ث - ب	والباقون	بِذَنْبِهِمْ
فَلَايَخَافُ	ا ث ك	والباقون	وَلَايَخَافُ

سورة اليل

يَغْشٰى - تَجَلّٰى - ٱلْأُنْثٰى - لَشَتّٰى - اتَّقٰى - بِالْحُسْنٰى - اسْتَغْنٰى - بِالْحُسْنٰى - تَرَدّٰى لَلْهُدٰى - الْأُولٰى - تَلَظّٰى - ٱلْأَشْقٰى - تَوَلّٰى - ٱلْأَتْقٰى - يَتَزَكّٰى - تُجْزٰى - ٱلْأَعْلٰى - يَرْضٰى - قرأ حمزة والكسائى بالامالة وورش وابو عمرو بالتقليل*

سَعْيَكُمْ	د ث - ب	والباقون	سَعْيَكُمْ
مَنِ اعطى	ج	والباقون	مَنْ أَعْطٰى
لِلْيُسْرٰى	ح ف ر - ج	والباقون	لِلْيُسْرٰى

كَذَّبَ بِالْحُسْنٰى	ى	والباقون	كَذَّبَ بِالْحُسْنٰى
لِلْعُسْرٰى	ح ف ر-ج	والباقون	لِلْعُسْرٰى
لَلْاٰخِرَةُ	ج	والباقون	لَلْاٰخِرَةُ
وَلُوْلٰى	ج	والباقون	وَالْاُوْلٰى
فَاَنْذَرْتُكُمْ	د ث - ب	والباقون	فَاَنْذَرْتُكُمْ
لَايَصْلٰهَا	ف ر-ج	والباقون	لَا يَصْلٰهَا
لَاشْقٰى	ج	والباقون	اَلْاَشْقٰى
لَاتْقٰى	ج	والباقون	اَلْاَتْقٰى
يُوْتٰى	ج ى	والباقون	يُؤْتٰى
لَاعْلٰى	ج	والباقون	اَلْاَعْلٰى

سورة الضحى

والضحٰى - سَجٰى - قلٰى - الاُوْلٰى - فَتَرْضٰى - فَاٰوٰى - فَهَدٰى - فَاَغْنٰى - حمزة والكسائى بالا مالة وورش وابو عمرو با لتقليل اما خرج حمزة عن اصلـه فى سجى فلم يملها*

لَلْاٰخِرَةُ	ج	والباقون	لَلْاٰخِرَةُ
لُوْلٰى	ج	والباقون	اَلْاُوْلٰى

سورة الانشراح

اَلْعُسُرِ يُسُرًا	ث	والباقون	اَلْعُسْرِ يُسْرًا
يُسُرًا اِنَّ	ج	والباقون	يُسْرًا* اِنَّ
اَلْعُسُرِ يُسُرًا	ث	والباقون	اَلْعُسْرِ يُسْرًا

سورة التين

لْمِيْنِ	ج	والباقون	اَلْاَمِيْنِ
لِنْسَانَ	ج	والباقون	اَلْاِنْسَانَ
فَلَهُمْ	د ث ا	والباقون	فَلَهُمْ

سورة العلق

اقْرَأْ	ش ـ ف ل في الوقف	والباقون	اقْرَأْ
لانْسَانَ	ج	والباقون	الْأِنْسَانَ
اقْرَا	ش ـ ف ل (في الوقف	والباقون	أقْرَأْ
عَلَّمَ بّالقلَم	ى	والباقون	عَلَّمَ بِالْقَلَمِ
لانْسَانَ	ج	والباقون	الْأِنْسَانَ
لانْسَانَ	ج	والباقون	الْأِنْسَانَ

لَيَطْغى ـ اسْتَغْنى ـ الرُّجْعى ـ يَنْهى ـ صَلّى ـ الْهُدى ـ بِالتَّقْوى ـ تَوَلّى ـ قرا حمزة والكسائى بالا مالة المحضة و ورش وابو عمرو بالتقليل*

يَرى	ح ف ر ـ ج	والباقون	يَرَى
رٰاهُ ـ رَاٰهُ	ز	والباقون	رَاٰهُ
رَاٰهُ	ط	ايضا	ايضا
راٰهُ	ك ص ى ف زج	والباقون	رَاٰهُ
أَرَيْتَ	ر		
أَرَأَيْتَ ـ أَرَآيْتَ	١ ـ ج	والباقون	أَرَأَيْتَ
أَرَيْتَ		والباقون	أَرَأَيْتَ
أَرَأَيْتَ ـ أَرَآيْتَ	١ ـ ج	ايضا	ايضا
أَرَيْتَ	ر		
أَرَأَيْتَ ـ أَرَآيْتَ	١ ـ ج	والباقون	أَرَأَيْتَ

سورة القدر

أدْرٰيكَ	ح ص ف رلف ج ـ م	والباقون	أدْرٰيكَ
مِنَ الْف	ج	والباقون	مِنْ أَلْفِ
شَهْرٍتَّنَزَّلُ	هـ	والباقون	شَهْرٍ تَنَزَّلُ

رَبِّهِمْ	والباقون	د ث ـ ب	رَبِّهِمْ
مَطْلَعِ الْفَجْرِ	والباقون	رلف	مَطْلَعِ الْفَجْرِ
الْفَجْرِ * لَمْ	والباقون	ى	الْفَجْرِ لَّمْ

سورة البينة

مِنْ أَهْلِ	والباقون	ج	مِنَ اهْلِ
تَأْتِيَهُمُ	والباقون	ج ى	تَاتِيَهُمُ
مَا جَاءَتْهُمُ	والباقون	م ف لف	مَاجَاءَتْهُمُ
وَيُؤْتُوا	والباقون	ج ى	وَيُوْتُوا
مِنْ أَهْلِ	والباقون	ى	مِنَ اهْلِ
نَارِ	والباقون	ج ح ت م	نَارِ
هُمْ	والباقون	د ث ـ ب	هُمُ و
الْبَرِيَّةِ	والباقون	ام	الْبَرِيئَةِ
هُمْ	والباقون	د ث ـ ب	هُمُ و
الْبَرِيَّةِ	والباقون	ام	الْبَرِيئَةِ
الْبَرِيَّةِ * جَزَاؤُهُمْ	والباقون	ى	الْبَرِيَّةِ جَّزَاؤُهُمْ
جَزَاؤُهُمْ	والباقون	د ث ـ ب	جَزَاؤُهُمُ و
رَبَّهُمْ	والباقون	د ث ـ ب	رَبَّهُمُ و
الْأَنْهَرُ	والباقون	ج	لَانْهَرُ
عَنْهُمْ	والباقون	د ث ـ ب	عَنْهُمُ و

سورة الزلزال

الْأَرْضُ	والباقون	ج	لَرْضُ
الْأَرْضَ	والباقون	ج	لَرْضَ

لانْسَانُ	ج	والباقون	الْاَنْسَانُ
أَوْحى	ف رج	والباقون	أَوْحى
يَصْدُرَالنَّاسُ	ف ر	والباقون	يَصْدُرَ النَّاسُ
لِيُرَوْاأَعْمَالَهُمْ	ج	والباقون	لِيَرَوْا أَعْمَالَهُمْ
أَعْمَالَهُمْ	د ث ـ ب	والباقون	أَعْمَالَهُمْ
يَرَهْ	ل	والباقون	يَرَهُ
يَرَهْ	ل	والباقون	يَرَهُ

سورة العديت

وَالْعٰدِيٰتِ ضَبْحًا	ى	والباقون	وَالْعٰدِيٰتِ ضَبْحًا
فَالْمُغيرٰتِ صُبْحًا	ى ـ ق	والباقون	فَالْمُغيرٰتِ صُبْحًا
جَمْعًا إنَّ	ج	والباقون	جَمْعًا * إنَّ
لانْسَانَ	ج	والباقون	الْاَنْسَانَ
الْخَيْرِلَشَدِيدٌ	ى	والباقون	الْخَيْرِ لَشَدِيدٌ
رَبَّهُمْ	د ث ـ ب	والباقون	رَبَّهُمْ
بِهِمْ	د ث ـ ب	والباقون	بِهِمْ

سورة القارعة

أَدْرٰيكَ	ح ص ف رلف ج ـ م	والباقون	أَدْرٰيكَ
فَهُوَ	ج د ظ ك ن ف لف	والباقون	فَهْوَ
أَدْرٰيكَ	ح ص ب رلف ـ ج م	والباقون	أَدْرٰيكَ
مَاهِيَ ـ مَاهِيَهْ (فى الوصل) (فى الوقف)	ظ ف	والباقون	مَاهِيَهْ (فى الحالين)

سورة التكاثر

أَلْهٰكُمْ	ج ف ر	والباقون	أَلْهٰكُمُ
لَتُرَوُنَّ	ك	والباقون	لَتَرَوُنَّ

سورة العصر

لِانْسَانَ	ج	والباقون	الْاِنْسَانَ
خُسْرِنِ الَّا	ج	والباقون	خُسْرٍ * اِلَّا

سورة الهمزة

جَمَّعَ	ث ش ك ف رخلف	والباقون	جَمَعَ
اَدْرٰيكَ	ح ص ف رلف - ج - م	والباقون	اَدْرٰيكَ
تَطَّلِعْ عَّلَى	ى	والباقون	تَطَّلِعُ عَلَى
عَلَلَفْـدَةِ	ج		
عَلَى الْاَفْـدَةِ	ت		
عَلَى الْاَفْـدَةِ	ق	والباقون	عَلَى الْاَفْـدَةِ
عَلَيْهُمْ	ف		
عَلَيْهِمْ	د ث - ب	والباقون	عَلَيْهِمْ
مُوْصَدَةٌ	ا ث د ص رك - ف	والباقون	مُوْصَدَةٌ
فِي عُمُدٍ	ف رص لف	والباقون	فِى عَمَـدٍ

سورة الفيل

كَيْفَ فَّعَلَ	ى	والباقون	كَيْفَ فَعَلَ
كَيْدَهُمُو	د ث - ب	والباقون	كَيْدَهُمْ
عَلَيْهُمُو	ف		
عَلَيْهِمُو	د ث - ب	والباقون	عَلَيْهِمْ
طَيْرَانَ ابَابِيلَ	ج	والباقون	طَيْرًا اَبَابِيلَ
تَرْمِيهُمْ	د ث - ب	والباقون	تَرْمِيهِمْ
فَجَعَلَهُمْ	د ث - ب	والباقون	فَجَعَلَهُمْ
مَاكُولٍ	ج ى	والباقون	مَاْءكُولٍ

سورة القريش

لِـلٰف	ك		
لِيْلٰف	ث	والباقون	لِيْلٰف
قُرَيْشٍ نِ الفهمْ	ج	والباقون	قُرَيْشٍ الفهمْ
الفهمْ و	د ث ـ ب	والباقون	الفهمْ
الصَّيْف فَلْيَعْبُدُو	ى	والباقون	الصَّيْف فَلْيَعْبُدُو
أطْعَمَهُمْ و	د ث ـ ب	والباقون	أطْعَمَهُمْ
وَآمَنَهُمْ و	د ث ـ ب	والباقون	وَآمَنَهُمْ

سورة الماعون

أرَيْتَ تسـ	ر		
أرَأيْتَ ـ أرَآيْتَ	ج	والباقون	أرَأيْتَ
يُكَذِّبُ بِالدِّينِ	ى	والباقون	يُكَذِّبُ بالدِّينِ
هُمْ و	د ث ـ ب	والباقون	هُمْ
صَلوٰتِهِمْ و	د ث ـ ب	والباقون	صَلوٰتِهِمْ
الَّذِيْنَ هُمْ و	د ث ـ ب	والباقون	الَّذِيْنَ هُمْ

سورة الكوثر

شَانِيَكَ	ث ـ ف (وقفا)	والباقون	شَانِئَكَ
هوَلْبتَرْ	ج	والباقون	هُوَالْأبْتَرُ

سورة الكفرون

لَآ أَنْتُمُو	د ث ـ ب	والباقون	وَلَآ أَنْتُمْ
عٰبِدُونَ	ل	والباقون	عٰبِدُونَ
عَابِدٌ	ل	والباقون	عَابِدٌ
مَا عَبَدْتُمُو	د ث ـ ب	والباقون	مَا عَبَدْتُمْ
وَلَآ أَنْتُمُو	د ث ـ ب	والباقون	وَلَآ أَنْتُمْ
عٰبِدُونَ	ل	والباقون	عٰبِدُونَ
لَكُمُو	د ث ـ ب	والباقون	لَكُمْ
دِينُكُمُو	د ث ـ ب	والباقون	دِينُكُمْ
وَلِيَ	ا ل ع ـ هـ	والباقون	وَلِي

سورة النصر

جَاءَ	م ف ـ لف	والباقون	جَاءَ

سورة تبت

أَبِي لَهْبٍ	د	والباقون	أَبِي لَهَبٍ
مَا أَغْنٰى	ف ر ـ ج	والباقون	مَا أَغْنٰى
سَيَصْلٰى	ف ر ـ ج	والباقون	سَيَصْلٰى
حَمَّالَةَ	ع	والباقون	حَمَّالَةُ

سورة الاخلاص

كُفْوًا	ط ف لف		
كُفُوًا	ع ـ ف (وقفا)	والباقون	كُفُوًا
كُفُوًا أَحَدٌ	ج	والباقون	كُفُوًا أَحَدٌ

سورة الفلق

قل اعوذ	ج	والباقون	قُلْ أَعُوذُ
غاسق ن اذا	ج	والباقون	غاسق اذا
حاسد ن اذا	ج	والباقون	حاسد اذا

سورة الناس

قُلَ اعوذ	ج	والباقون	قُلْ أَعُوذُ
برب الناس	ط	والباقون	برب النّاس
ملك الناس	ط	والباقون	ملك النّاس
اله الناس	ط	والباقون	اله النّاس
صدور الناس	ط	والباقون	صدور النّاس
والناس	ط	والباقون	والنّاس

تمت

EDWARD SELL.

IV.

INSCRIPTIONS.

I.

I.—INSCRIPTION ON THE INNER WALL OF THE FORT AT RAICHORE.

Some time ago Mr. Francis B. Hanna, M.A., M.E., Engineer to the Madras Railway at Bellary, informed me of the existence of an ancient inscription on the inner wall of the fort at Raichore. Being an experienced photographer he succeeded in taking two successful negatives of the inscription. These he kindly forwarded to me, and from them Messrs. Nicholas and Co. of Madras have printed the positives. Moreover at my suggestion Mr. Hanna wrote the following descriptive note (A) about the Raichore fort, which I trust will prove of much interest to the reader. In B I give a transliteration, and in C a translation of the inscription, which is followed by an historical inquiry contained further on in D.

A.

DESCRIPTIVE NOTE ABOUT RAICHORE FORT.

Contributed by Mr. Francis B. Hanna.

The town of Raichore is situated in the south-west corner of the dominions of the Nizam of Hyderabad. It lies nearly midway between the large rivers Kistna and Tungabhadra, and has, according to the recent census, a population of 13,575 persons. The surrounding country is a level plain, broken up here and there by hills of solid gneiss, most of which are covered with loose boulders of the same stone. Of late years the name Raichore has become well known in Southern India,

as the main lines of railway from Bombay and Madras form their junction at this station; but beyond this few Europeans know much about the place.

The old fort, however, presents a striking appearance, even to the casual observer who sees it from a passing train, and is well worthy of description. Its general form resembles a square, with the southern corners rounded off, and the south and east sides curved outwards. Three sides of this square are defended by a high stone wall, strengthened by a number of substantial bastions, and surrounded by a moat; whilst a steep isolated rock, rising 290 feet above the plain and protected by a double line of fortifications and the moat, forms an appropriate boundary on the south. The outer wall passes close round the southern base of this rocky hill, but encloses on the northern side a strip of level ground about 1,000 yards long from east to west, and 600 yards wide, on which a part of the present town is built. Within this first line of defence a second wall is found, which, passing round the south of the hill about half way up the rock, encloses on the north a square piece of level land having an area of about 50 acres.

On the west side the two walls are very nearly parallel and about 150 yards apart; this space is now waste land marked by the signs of ruined dwellings. The interval between the eastern walls is twice as great, and is covered with houses, whilst a large part of the present town lies still further to the east. From this it is plain that the town has had a gradual tendency to extend eastwards; for the inscription shown in the accompanying photograph proves that the inner wall was built 300 years before the outer, and it seems fair to infer that when the outer wall was built it enclosed all that part of the town which then lay outside the original limits.

The age of the outer wall is definitely fixed by the dates on a number of stone tablets which are built into niches in

the interior of several of the bastions. These inscriptions are in Persian and Arabic characters, beautifully cut in a hard stone resembling in appearance a dark-green slate. The dates on four of these stones are 971, 1000, 1018 and 1029 Hijri, which correspond to 1563, 1591, 1609 and 1619 of our era. The following is a translation of the inscription on the stone, which was till lately in the north wall of Hanuman's bastion, but which, it is much to be regretted, has recently been removed and sent to Gulburgah.

"By the grace of God and that of Mohammed, our Redeemer, this building was completed. The erection of the building began in the time of the noble Ibrahim Adil Shah. The Agent Malik Yakub, with the assistance of Malik Reham Sahib, commenced its erection. This building was completed and has since become twice holy; it always faces the Kiblah. It dates from 1018, and is held in as high estimation as the constellation of the twins."

The other inscriptions are of a similar character. Hanuman's bastion stands in the middle of the western wall, and can easily be identified by means of an old tree growing in the centre. It has a few rude figures of elephants and monkeys on some of the stones, which were probably taken from some Hindu well or temple, as Mahomedans never carved figures of animals on their buildings. This may account for the Hindu name. At the north-east corner of the outer fortification is a gateway and courtyard with some Hindu carvings, but these are of little importance. Most of them are badly designed and roughly executed, the best being a slab on the southern side, representing a king attended by dancing girls, who have their hair tied up in most elaborate chignons. The wall of the outer line of fortification is built in two parts, one of 18 to 20 feet rising from the bottom of the moat up to an external pathway 10 feet wide, which is protected by a parapet; and the other part

of about the same height, reaching from the pathway to the top of the wall. That part of the wall which is above the general level of the ground is backed with a mound of earth, faced with stone on the inner side, the whole forming a solid mass which varies from 20 to 40 feet in thickness. The masonry is substantial, but the stones are too square on the face for first-class work, and little or no attention was paid to the breaking of joint; consequently an unbroken line of joints often runs vertically down five or six consecutive courses. The walls are built in 18-inch courses of stone set in mud and pointed with mortar on the face. In some parts battlements loop-holed for musketry still remain; these are chiefly found on the southern side.

The inner wall is quite different in style. It is constructed of large blocks of gneiss, many of which are over 12 feet long and weigh upwards of 10 tons each; whilst a few specially large stones are more than twice this weight. For instance, at the north-east corner, one stone measures 13 feet 6 inches, by 5 feet, by 4 feet 6 inches; and the one above it 11 feet 6 inches, by 5 feet, by 4 feet. No mortar is used in this wall, and one of the most striking peculiarities of the masonry is that in many places the top of a course was left curved and uneven, and the stones of the course above were cut so as to follow this irregular outline. Such a method must have entailed an enormous waste of labour, as the close joints could only have been obtained after a tentative process of fitting, which must have been a very tedious work when such large stones had to be lifted. As an example of this class of work the following instance may be mentioned:—

	FT.	IN.	FT.	IN.	FT.	IN.	FT.	IN.
Length from end of stone ..	3	0	5	0	7	4	11	10
Corresponding depth ..	3	5	3 4	7 2½	4	3	3	9

Here, it will be seen, there is a sudden dip of 7½ inches at 5 feet from one end, to fit a joint in the course below where the two adjoining stones differ that much in height. An example of another class is a coffin-shaped stone, the length of which is 11 feet 2 inches; the depths at the ends 3 feet 3 inches, and 3 feet 4 inches; and the depth at 4½ feet from one end 4 feet 3 inches. These examples are from the north and east walls, where the joints are much closer than on the western side. A correct idea of the class of work may be formed from that portion of the photograph which is below the inscription. Such open joints as those which are seen above the large stone are quite exceptional. In this wall great attention has been paid to bonding, and breaking of joint; the stones being generally placed as headers and stretchers alternately, like the class of brickwork known as "Flemish bond." The inner wall is 18 feet high, and 17 feet thick, including the earthwork backing and stone-facing on the inside. Its general line is broken up by a series of square projections placed 40 yards apart; each of these stands out 20 feet from the face of the wall, and forms an external buttress 15 yards wide. The old Hindu wall seems only to have extended to the northern slope of the hill. At this point the character of both the east and west walls suddenly changes and becomes similar to that of the outer fortifications, so that it would appear that the southern part of the inner line was built by the Mahomedans at a comparatively recent date.

On the top of the hill there is a walled enclosure of irregular shape, 40 yards long, and 40 yards wide. This is entered by a gateway on the southern side. To the left of the entrance is a covered building 11 yards long, 2½ yards wide, and 2½ yards high, which is divided into five chambers in each of which is a little grave surmounted by strings of glass bangles and other children's ornaments. Opposite the centre chamber is a larger grave covered only by the Neem tree growing beside

it. These are said to be the graves of Begum Punchbee and her five daughters. Opposite the gateway is a miniature musjid 10 feet square, and 15 feet high, with carved stone minarets. Alongside this is a house the main room of which is divided by pillars into six spaces about 9 feet square, each of which is covered by a small dome. On the northern side there is a similar dome over a little chamber which projects like a bay window from the rest of the room. This has windows on three sides and commands a fine view of the fort and town in the plain below. The roof of the house is surrounded by a parapet loop-holed for musketry, and was approached by an external staircase on the west side, part of which has fallen down. At the north-east angle of the enclosure stands a curious little building only 7½ feet square, and 8 feet high, which consists of a dome supported by four stone pillars. The two northern pillars are of the same pattern; the other two are of a plainer design, and are different from each other. The inside of the dome is plastered, and ornamented with scrolls and flower borders such as are usually seen on Mahomedan buildings. In the centre of the enclosure there is a masonry tank for holding water, which measures 10 yards square on the outside, and stands 5 feet above the level of the ground. To the south of this is a circular mound faced with stone, in the centre of which an old cannon is mounted. The breech has been blown away just below the touch-hole, so the construction of the gun can be well seen. It is made of twelve longitudinal iron bars each about 1¼ inches square, surrounded by three wrought-iron coils. The inner coil is 1¼ inches thick, the middle and outer coils each 1¾ inches. The outer coil only extends for 2 feet 7 inches from the broken end, and is finished off with an ornamental border. The gun as it now stands is 20 feet 4 inches long. Its external circumference near the muzzle is 3 feet, at the trunnions 3¼ feet, and at the breech 4 feet 2 inches. Four pairs of eyes for slinging the cannon by means of ropes

are placed at 2, 7, 13, and 19 feet, respectively, from the muzzle; the trunnions are at $10\frac{1}{4}$ feet. Just in front of the trunnions there is a ∩ shaped projection that fits on a wrought-iron cross bar $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, which bar itself passes through the two arms of a Y shaped support that is built into the masonry base. There is another broken gun of similar construction in one of the bastions on the north wall of the fort.

In the middle of the western side of the inner wall stands a gateway, a few yards to the south of which is the large stone bearing the Telugu inscription. This stone is a curiosity in itself, being a block of gneiss 41 feet 5 inches long, and over 3 feet deep. Its lower side is 7 feet above the ground, and near one end is a large triangular projection which fits into a corresponding hollow in the course below. The inscription is 13 feet long, and 2 feet deep. It consists of ten lines in old Telugu characters which were so much worn by age that they had to be carefully coloured before a legible photograph could be obtained. The Telugu language is commonly spoken in Raichore, yet, strange to say, no one could be found who could read the inscription until the photograph was sent to Dr. Oppert of Madras. On the right-hand side of the inscription is a carving of Ganapati, and at the northern end there is a standing figure of some other Hindu deity. Both these are very much defaced, all the projecting portions having been knocked off, most probably by Mahomedan iconoclasts. A little further down the wall will be found some rude carvings which illustrate the way the big stone was conveyed to its present site. It is represented loaded in a four-wheeled cart drawn by several pairs of buffaloes. The stone is in an inclined position, the front part projecting over the heads of the buffaloes next the cart. One man sitting on the front of the stone is brandishing a whip and holding the reins; another in the middle, and a third at the end of the stone are encouraging the group of people who

are pushing at the back of the cart and helping to move the wheels by means of a large lever. On the next stone six carts decorated with flags are represented, each cart being drawn by one pair of bulls.

B.

TRANSLITERATION OF THE INSCRIPTION.

Svasti samastaguṇagaṇākāra satyaratnākara saujanyagaurava ādigaṇḍabhairava sāhasō*tt*uṅga kākatīyakaṭakasaṁnāha viracitaraṇōtsāha kuḍupalūripuravarādhīśvara vīralakṣumīnijēśvara hasulukulakamalamārtāṇḍa kadanapracaṇḍa mīsaragaṇḍa ubhayabalagaṇḍa gaṇḍaragaṇḍa abhaṅga gaṇḍabhēruṇḍa hagibaragaṇḍa hadimuvaragaṇḍa lāḍakunarapeṇḍāra ēkajagadēkavīra kāntikāṟakaḻamauḻi santatōjvala śasimauḻinijayanta duṣṭaturagarēkhārēvanta samarasamayadurdharavīrāvatārārisadiyelitalagoṇḍugaṇḍa uppulasōmanitalagoṇḍugaṇḍa gaṇḍibhūpālunitalagoṇḍugaṇḍa lakkināyakunitalagoṇḍugaṇḍa yeḍipalikāceyanākuniśirakhaṇḍa kandūrikēsināyinitalagoṇḍagaṇḍa apārabhīmanirdhūmadhāmanirupamasaṅgrāmarāma tēṟālakāḍadēśāpaṭṭaniṟuvatoṇḍagōdhūmapaṭṭanapuraṭṭacirabēlākināyininisāhaṇāpaharaṇa sahajakrauryā-

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The letters in italic print are not in the text. Spelling mistakes occur in the inscription.

Line 2, *sāhasōttuṅga*. This expression is in Local Records XIII, p. 162, l. 5, an epithet of the king Anantapāladaṇḍa.

Line 4, *hasulu*, denotes the Hoysala kings.

Line 5, *gaṇḍaragaṇḍa*. In the preface to the Bālabhāgavatam, p. 14, l. 2, Pāpatimmarāja is called gaṇḍaragaṇḍa, and in the Rāmarājīyam, p. 2, l. 13 the Cālukya Nārāyaṇa is called dharaṇīvarāhagaṇḍaragaṇḍa. Compare also p. 230.

Line 6, *hadimuvaragaṇḍa*. In the Rāmarājīyam, p. 2, l. 12, the Cālukya Nārāyaṇa is called hattumūvaragaṇḍa. See also *hattibbaragaṇḍa* on p. 235.

Line 6, *lāḍakunarapeṇḍāra*. In the preface to the Bālabhāgavatam, p. 6, l. 7 Timmarāja is called Gaṇḍapeṇḍāra.

Line 7, *kāntikāṟakaḻamauḻi*. With this expression compare *Tirumalarāyamauli* in Bālabhāgavatam, śl. 121.

Line 10, *lakkināyakuni*. *See* p. 217 and p. 240.

Line 11, *kāceyanākuniśirakhaṇḍa*. According to the preface to the Bālabhāgavatam Rāmarāja, son of Bukkarāya, conquered the Kācādhīśa of Ādavēni (Ādōni) *see* p. 231—*Kandūrikesīnāyini*, see p. 217.

bharaṇa kōṭapimmāḍirāyakaṇṭhābharaṇabhūṟikāṟa jōḍa-oḍaya paṭṭasūtraturaṅgaprahāra rudradēvadakṣiṇaśubhadaṇ-ḍa nijakīrtipūritabrahmāṇḍakaraṇḍa paribalō*d*daṇḍa śrīsōma-nāthadēvadivyaśrīpādapadmārādhaka parabalasādhaka sāmā-disamastapraśastiṣahitam śrīmatu misiyaragaṇḍa gōregaṅga-yaraḍḍivāru poddamānapuramanandu sukhasaṅkathāvinō-dambuna pṛthuvīrājyamam sēyacumnuṇḍagānu tadrājya-rakṣāmaṇi ayina śrīnārāyaṇadēvadivyaśrīpādapadmārādhaka sakalajanapratipālaka parabalasādhaka sakaladayasādhaka puṇyaguṇasanātha viṭhālanātha bhūnāthaṇḍu ādavanitumbu-kamu māgudahāluva durgālu sādhiñci tadanantarambu rācū-ripaṭṭaṇapaṭisābhimukhuṇḍai sukhasaṅkathāvinōdambuna pṛthuvīrājyam seyucuṁnuṇḍi śakavarṣambulu 1216 agu jaya saṁvatsara mārgaśira śu*d*da 10 ra nandu sarvarāṣṭra-samastaprajārakṣaṇārtham jerilādurgavam racayiñcenu—maṅgala mahā—śrī śrī śrī.

C.

TRANSLATION OF THE INSCRIPTION.

Hail! while he who is the embodiment of all good qualities, a jewel mine of truth, who possesses dignity and generosity, the most formidable of ancient heroes, passionate in daring, who is the mail of the city of the Kākatīyas, whose prowess in battle is established, the sovereign of the excellent town Kuḍupalūru, the own consort of the Goddess of heroism, the sun to the lotus of the Ḥasulu family, who is fierce in war, an excellent hero, the most eminent of the two armies, the hero of heroes, who is invincible, like a Gaṇḍabhēruṇḍa, superior to his enemies, the conqueror of thirteen, who wears an anklet on which are the pictures of the heads of the defeated Lāḍakas, the only hero of the whole world, who has a shining beautiful diadem, who is always resplendent, the true charioteer of him who has the moon as his crest, who trains a line of vicious horses, who is an incarnation of a hero irresistible at the time of

Line 15, *pimmāḍirāya*. Compare the Rāmarājīyam, p. 22, l. 6, where Hemma-ḻirāja, the son of Tātapinna, is mentioned.

Line 16, *dakṣiṇaśubhadaṇḍa*. In the *Local Records* XVIII, p. 319, l. 15 Nāga-rāja, the son-in-law of Sadāśivarāya, is called dakṣiṇabhujadaṇḍa.

battle, the hero who cut off the heads when fighting with enemies, the hero who cut off the head of Uppulasōma, the hero who cut off the head of the king of Gaṇḍi, the hero who cut off the head of Lakkināyaka, the hero who cut off the head of Kāceyanaik of Yeḍipali, the hero who cut off the head of Kēśinaik of Kandūru, who is unequalled in his very fierce and smokeless splendour, who is like Rāma in battle, who has taken away at night the treasure of Cirabēlākinaik the lord of the wheat-town of Toṇḍa, which is by the side of the country of Tēṟālakāḍu, who is distinguished by genuine fierceness, who distributes the necklace of Kōṭapim-māḍirāya, one who wears a coat of mail, who strikes the horses with a silken whip, who is the auspicious right-hand club of Rudradēva, with whose fame the casket-like egg-shell of Brahma is filled, who is proud of his power, who worships the holy lotus feet of the god Śrīsōmanātha, who conquers the troops of the enemy, who knows the virtues of all political measures such as conciliation, &c., while he the renowned and excellent hero Gōre Gaṅgaya Raḍḍivāru was administrating in Poddamānapura his kingdom on earth in the enjoyment of peace and pleasant news, the king Viṭhālanātha—who is the chief protector of his kingdom, who worships the holy lotus feet of the god Śrīnārāyaṇa, who protects all people, who conquers the troops of his enemy, who effects all sorts of kindness, who is endowed with holy qualities—having reduced the fortresses of Ādavanitumbuka and Māgu-dahāluva, having afterwards turned his face towards the spears of the city of Racūru, while ruling his kingdom on earth in the enjoyment of peace and pleasant news, construct-ed for the protection of all the subjects of his entire kingdom on Sunday the tenth day of the bright fortnight of Mārgaśira after the (expired) Śaka year 1216,[1] corresponding to the (present) Jaya year, the rock fortress.—Great blessing—Prosperity—prosperity—prosperity.

[1] In inscriptions the expired year of the Śaka is given together with the actual year of the sixty years' cycle; Jaya corresponds therefore with 1217.

D.

An Historical Inquiry about Gōre Gaṅgaya and Viṭhala.

The inscription on the inner wall of the fort of Rācūru (Raichore) relates to a period of Indian history which is involved in deep darkness. For the twenty years which preceded the Mahomedan conquest of the Dekkan by 'Alā-ud-dīn only a very few valuable inscriptions or other records have come down to us which elucidate these sombre pages of the chronicles of India. One need not be surprised that the conquered Hindus did not feel any inclination to commemorate these sad times, from which dates the destruction of their political ascendency and national independence, but it is rather astonishing that the annals of the victors also contain only meager accounts of events, which laid the foundation for the sway of Islām over a great part of Southern India.

The aspect of the political affairs in the Dekkan towards the end of the thirteenth century is painful indeed. It presents a dismal picture of internecine wars, caused either by religious intolerance or by greed for territory. Nothing promoted, in fact, so much the success of the invaders as the continual dissensions among Hindu chieftains, who appealed occasionally for help to the common enemy, and who indulged in their fratricidal contests, even at a time when it ought to have been apparent to all that the only chance of avoiding utter destruction lay in the close union of all. Moreover, the manner in which the Hindu princes generally disposed in those days of their crown-lands was very impolitic. When a king had more than one son, he usually assigned to each of them a particular province, thus destroying the state, for whose consolidation he had labored hard and which he had perhaps founded himself.

The stone inscription bears the date of Sunday (*Ravivāram*) the 10th day of the bright fortnight of Mārgaśira after the expired Śaka year 1216, which coincides with the present

Jaya year of the sixty years' cycle of Bṛhaspati. This date corresponds with Sunday the 28th of November, 1294 A.D. (Old Style).[1]

At that time Sultān Jalāluddīn Fīrōz Shāh Khiljī was reigning in Delhi. He had ascended the throne in 688 Hijri or 1289 A.D., and was murdered by his nephew and son-in-law Sultān 'Alāuddīn on the 17th of Ramazan 695, *i.e.*, in July 1296 A.D. 'Alāuddīn, when Governor of Karra, undertook his first expedition against the Rāja of Dēvagiri with the permission of his Sultān between the 19th of Rabiu-lakhir and the 28th of Rajab 695, *i.e.*, between February and April 1296 A.D.

The two persons mentioned in the inscription are Gōre Gaṅgaya Raḍḍivāru and Viṭhalanātha. No printed information about these two men can be found anywhere. Neither of them is even mentioned in Professor Horace Hayman Wilson's learned introduction to his Descriptive Catalogue of the Oriental Manuscripts of the Mackenzie Collection, or in Sir Walter Elliot's well known Monograph on Hindu Inscriptions, or in the late Mr. James Prinsep's Essays on Indian Antiquities. Yet both these men were persons of considerable importance and wielded great power in the territories now belonging to the Nizam and in the Ceded Provinces.

The grand deeds which are attributed to Gōre Gaṅgaya Raḍḍivāru mark him as a successful general who had gained many victories, and as a prince of distinction. In the following discourse he will be identified with Gōre Rāyā Gaṅgadēvayagāru, who is mentioned as commander-in-chief and prime minister of the Kākatīya king in the Local Records of the Oriental MSS. Library in Madras. In the inscription his residence is named *Poddamānapurà*, which is perhaps identical with Pottapināḍu, mentioned in the Local Records.

[1] I am indebted for the rectification of this and other dates to Mr. W. S. Krishnasvami Naidu, Head-Translator of the Madras High Court, who has made Indian Chronology his special study.

Gōre is occasionally spelt Gorre; Raḍḍivāru corresponds to Rāya, the word Raḍḍu being derived from the Sanskrit *rāṣṭram; raḍḍivāru* is, therefore, king. Gaṅgaya Dēva and Gaṅgadēvaya are different forms of the same name.

The Kākatīyas were the reigning family at Orugallu (*Ēkaśilā*), to whom belonged *Rudra Dēva*, who is mentioned in the inscription. His full name is Kumāra Kākatīya Pratāpa Rudra Dēva, who reigned from Ś.Ś. 1190 to about 1245. *Hasulu* indicates the Hoysala dynasty which reigned at Doraśamudra or Paḍabīḍu (*Haḻebīḍu*) in Mysore.

With respect to the names of places occurring in the inscription, the identification is not always easy. *Kuḍupalūru* seems to correspond to the modern Kaḍapa; *Gaṇḍi* is most likely Gaṇḍikōṭa in the Kaḍapa district; in *Lakkināyaka* I recognize the leader of *Lakh* or of *Lakkuṇḍi* situated in the Bombay Presidency, unless it is preferred to explain Lakkināyaka as a personal name; *Adipalli* is not far from Kaḍapa. There are in the Nizam's territory and the neighbouring districts many places called Kandūru; but the place alluded to in the inscription I take to be Karnūlu (Kurnool). In the Tārīkh-i-Alai of Amīr Khusru, who died 1325 A.D., Kandūr is repeatedly mentioned as a place of importance in the wars between the Hindus and the Musulmans (1310–1311 A.D.[2]). *Tēṟālakāḍu* is most likely *Talakāḍu* in Mysore, the ancient capital of the *Gaṅga* dynasty, north of which lies *Toṇḍanūru* (Tonnūr), in which name I am inclined to recognize *Toṇḍagōdhūmapaṭṭana*.[3] *Ādavanitumbaka* is Ādōni.

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[2] *Compare* the History of India, edited from the posthumous papers of the late Sir H. M. Elliot, K.C.B., by Professor John Dawson, Vol. III, p. 90. Karṇūl is also called Kandanavōlu or Kandanōlu and Kandanūru or Kandūru. The meaning is derived from the black soil (*kandu*) round Karṇūl.

[3] Talkher in the Nizam's territory, Telikoti in the Kaladgi district of the Bombay Presidency and Tarlakōṭa in Ganjam have similar names.

Gōdhūma means wheat, which is much grown in Mysore and also in the country round Tonnūr. Toṇḍanūru or *Yādavapurī*, a place of great importance, was once also a residency town.

Concerning *Māgadahāluva* I am as yet unable to make any positive statements.

Viṭhalanātha or Viṭhalēśa or Viṭhala was a prince belonging to the family of the Narapatis. We are enabled to prove his identity on the authority of Kōnērinātha, a contemporary Telugu writer, who dedicated his Bālabhāgavatam to Tirumalarāja, the elder brother of Viṭhala. In the preface to this book Kōnērinātha gives a genealogy of the family of his patron, and sings also the praises of Viṭhala. The preface of the Bālabhāgavatam seems to have been entirely overlooked either by Professor Wilson or by his amanuensis, but it is still more peculiar that the Bālabhāgavatam, of which two copies exist in the Mackenzie collection, is neither described by the Rev. William Taylor in his Catalogue Raisonné of that collection, nor even mentioned in his List of the Telugu MSS. contained in that collection.

I. About Gōre Gaṅgaya Raḍḍivāru.

The dynasty of the Gaṅgas was, after its overthrow in Mysore, not doomed to insignificance. In various parts of Southern India we soon observe them again rising to influence, if not as mighty princes, yet as generalissimos and ministers of the ruling dynasties, while in Orissa they succeeded at last in founding a powerful realm.

Thus one Gaṅgarāja, master of Kolālapura (the modern Kolār), distinguished himself as a general of the king of the Pallavas; another served the Cālukya king Bhuvanaika Malla; the Hoysala king Viṣṇu Vardhana entrusted to a Gaṅgarāja the offices of minister and general, and we meet with other Gaṅgas in the reign of the Kalacurya Vijala of Kalyāṇa.[4]

In the extracts from the Local Records, which are given below, occur the names of Gaṅgaya Dēva Mahārāja and

[4] *See* Mysore Inscriptions by Lewis Rice, p. xlvi.

Gorre Rāya Gaṅgadēvayagāru. The natives of India do not now-a-days always adhere to one particular form of their names, still less did their ancestors do so in those remote times; the difference of names does not, therefore, necessarily indicate difference of persons. It is therefore possible, that both titles apply to one and the same individual. Between the first inscription of the Local Records, in which Gaṅgaya Dēva Mahārāja is mentioned, and the Rācūru-inscription lies only an interval of 35 years, (from 1181–1216 Ś.Ś., or 1259-1294 A.D.), which is not too long a period for one person to occupy a post. It must also not be overlooked that according to p. 224 Gaṅgaya Dēva could not have ruled long before 1181 Ś.Ś. The king Gaṇapati Dēva and his grandson Pratāpa Rudra Dēva might have entrusted their realm and army to the same Gaṅgaya, who filled both the offices of prime minister and generalissimo. Moreover, it must not be forgotten, that the same locality is everywhere mentioned as the residence of the prime minister and commander-in-chief.

On the other hand, if in the context two different individuals are alluded to, who held successively the same position under the same dynasty and ruled over the same territory, a close relationship may fairly be presumed to have existed between them.

At all events the extracts from the Local historical Records* about Gaṅgaya Dēva Mahārāja and those which refer to Gorre Rāya Gaṅgadēvayagāru, the personage specially mentioned in our inscription, are full of important details, and are worthy enough of being rescued from oblivion.

In the fifth volume of the Local Records (pp. 27, 28) Mahārāja Gaṅgaya Dēva is mentioned, as far as I can ascertain, for the first time. The exact date of the inscription corresponds to Saturday, the 27th December 1259 A.D., Old Style.

The Records read as follows:—

After Mahārāja Tirukāliti Dēvacōḷa had borne the burden

of the reign and when Mahārāja Gaṇapati was ruling the kingdom, his commander-in-chief Mahārāja Gaṅgaya Dēva holding supreme sway over Siddhavaṭam,[5] Pottupināḍu,[6] and other countries, lived then in a village called (Mavujē) Mayadakūru,[7] which lies north of the Duvvūru[8] division of the abovementioned sub-district. One Mahārāja Jannigadēva, his sister's son, was very powerful. When Mahārāja Gaṅgaya Dēva was holding supreme sway over this country, he gave the town of Mayadakūru, in which he resided, as an agrahāram to Brāhmans, dividing it into 68 śrōtriyam grants during the holy feast Makara Saṅkrānti, on the 11th day of the bright fortnight in the month of Puṣya, in the year Siddārthi, corresponding to the Śaka year 1181. In proof of this there is a stone-tablet in a street in the middle of the abovementioned village. As proof of the reign of the Mahārāja Gaṅgaya Dēva there exists moreover a stone tablet in the Siddhēśvara temple of Jyōti[9] on the northern bank of the Pinākini[10] on the north side to the village Jyōti in the abovementioned sub-district.

తిరుకాలితి దేవచోళ మహారాజు రాజ్యభారం చేసినత ర్వాతను గణపతిదేవ మహారాజు రాజ్యభారం యేలుతూవుం డగా వారి అగ్రసేనాపతి గంగయదేవ మహారాజు సిద్ధవటం పొత్తపినాడు మొదలైన సీమలు ప్రభుత్వం చేస్తూవుండి అప్ప డు తాలూకు మజుకూరు పరగణే దువ్వూరిపైకి మవుజే మయ దకూరు అనే గ్రామమందు వుండిరి. ఆయన శోడబుట్టువ కుమారుడు జన్నిగదేవ మహారాజు అనే ఆయన ఒకడు ప్రబ లుడైయుండెను. గంగయదేవ మహారాజులవారు యీ సీమ ప్రభుత్వం చేశేటప్పుడు వారికి వునికిపట్టుఅయిన మయద

[5] In Kaḍapa, east of the latter, commonly spelt Sidhout.
[6] I identify Pottapināḍu with the modern Budvail in Kaḍapa, see p. 225.
[7] In Kaḍapa, north of the town Kaḍapa,commonly written Midekoor.
[8] A sub-district in Kaḍapa, commonly called Dhoor.
[9] In Kaḍapa, lies north of the Pennār near Siddhavaṭam.
[10] Or Pennār.

కూరిపట్నము శకవర్షములు ౧౧౮౧ సిద్ధార్థి సంవత్సర పుష్య శు ౧౧-లు మకరసంక్రాంతి పుణ్యకాలమాయందు బ్రాహ్మలకు అరవైయెనిమిది వృత్తులు శ్రోత్రియ అగ్రహారము చేసిరి. ఇందుకు రుజువు సదరహీ మౌజే మ: యదకూరు గ్రామం మధ్యను వీధిలో శిలాశాసనం వున్నది. ఇది గాక గంగయదేవ మహారాజులవారి యేలుబడికి రుజువు తాలూకు మ: జుకూరుపైకి మౌజే జ్యోతిఅనే గ్రామానకు వుత్తరభాగమందు పినాకినినదికి వుత్తరభాగమందు వొడ్డుననే జ్యోతి సిద్ధేశ్వరుని దేవాలయములోనొక శిలాశాసనము వున్నది.

Another account of the same event is found in the Local Records, vol. xviii, pp. 22, 23, where Gaṅgaya Dēva Mahārāja is called the prime minister of Gaṇapati Dēva, and his nephew's full title is given as Murāri Nārāyaṇabalamattagaṇḍa Gaṇḍapeṇḍēra Janniga Dēva Mahārāja.[11]

The next mention of Gaṅgaya Dēva is dated Thursday, 2nd

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[11] గణపతిదేవమహారాజువచ్చి యీ సీమ ఆక్రమించి యీదువ్వూరికి ఆగ్నేయభాగమందు నాలుగుపరుగుల దూరమునవున్న మైదకూరు అనే గ్రామంచూచి దువ్వూరుకన్నను మైదకూరు వెల్లడిస్థలమైనందున అది నివాసయోగ్యముగా చూచి అక్కడ గణపతిదేవ మహారాజులవారి ప్రధాని అయిన గంగయదేవ మహారాజు నివాసంచేసుకొనివుండి రాజ్యం యేలుతూవుండి ఆయన తోబుట్టువయొక్క కుమారుడు మురారి నారాయణబలమత్తగండ గండపెండేర జంనిగదేవ మహారాజు అనే ఆయన మహా పరాక్రమవంతుడు సేనాధిపతిగా వుండెను - ఇది గాక మహా ప్రధాని గంగయదేవ మహారాజు రాజ్యభారం వహించి ప్రజా పరిపాలనచేస్తూవుండి తనయొక్క రాజధానియైన మైదకూరు అగ్రహారం చేయవలెనని అరవైయెనిమిది వృత్తులు శ్రోత్రియముగా నిష్కర్షచేసి అగ్రహారం చేసెను -

February 1262 A.D., Old Style. We read in the Local Records, vol. v, pp. 28, 29, as follows:—

While this Mahārāja Gaṅgaya Dēva ruled over this country, Mahārāja Brahmarākṣasa Siddhaya Dēva, the son of Mahārāja Kadambarāya Bhīmaya Dēva, undertook an expedition with the intention of conquering it. While he was encamped near Sōmaśilapatṇam,[12] which lies on the northern bank of the Pinākini, two parugas[13] to the east of which is situated the village Paṭṭapurāli, Mahārāja Murāri Nārāyaṇa Balamattagaṇḍa Gaṇḍapeṇḍēra *Janniga Dēva* (a sister's son of Mahārāja Gaṅgaya Dēva who reigned over the abovementioned country), prepared for battle as soon as he arrived, after collecting an army from the territory of Mahārāja Gaṅgaya. A terrible battle took place between him and Mahārāja Brahmarākṣasa Siddhaya Dēva near Sōmaśilapatṇam. Brahmarākṣasa Siddhaya Dēva died after having been victorious in this battle. In proof of this there is a written stone-tablet in a deserted Īśvara temple (which is situated near the village common of the now deserted[14] village called Annalūru,[15] which lies north of the division of the abovementioned sub-district Duvvūru) dated the 11th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Māgha in the year Durmati, corresponding to the Śaka year 1183.

ఇందుకు రుజువు హోళ్లిపరగణే మజుకూరుపైకి పై మైదకూరు గ్రామంయొక్క వీధినష్టమ పూడ్చివున్న శిలాశాసనము సోమంచంద్రకరీశశాంకకలితే అని వ్రాశివున్నది - ఇందుకు గణిత సంజ్ఞను శకం ౧౧౮౧ సిద్ధార్థి సంవత్సరం అని వ్రాశివున్నది - మకర సంక్రాంత్యాం ద్విజేభ్యోర్పితా ఏతా అష్టాధిక షష్టివృత్తయః - వృత్తులు ౬౮ అని వ్రాసివున్నది.

[12] Lies north of the Pennār in Nellore on the frontier of Kaḍapa.
[13] Originally *parugu* means a distance a man can run ; or about two miles.
[14] "Being without lights" is its original meaning.
[15] In Kaḍapa, in the sub-district Dhoor.

Moreover it is written in the abovementioned stone tablet that a Bhīmaya-liṅgam has been erected for the village of Annalūru in a Śiva temple, and that śrōtriya gifts have also been bestowed at the same time as endowments.

ఈ గంగయదేవమహారాజులవారు యీసీమ యేలుతూ వుండగా శ్రీమన్మహామండలేశ్వర కాంచీపుర వరాధీశ్వరుడైన కదంబరాయ భీమయదేవమహారాజులగారి కొమారుడు బ్రహ్మరాక్షససిద్ధయదేవమహారాజులు యీ దేశం సాధించవలెనని దండు కదలివచ్చి పట్టపురాలి గ్రామానకు పూర్వభాగమందు రెండు పరుగులదూరమున పినాకినినదికి వుత్తరభాగమందునవున్న సోమశిలపట్ణంవద్ద దండుదిగివుండగా పైని వ్రాసిన యీ సీమ యేలుచూవున్న గంగయదేవమహారాజులతోడబుట్టువ కొమారుడు అయిన మురారి నారాయణ బలమత్తగండ గండపెండేర జన్నిగదేవ మహారాజుగారు గంగయదేవమహారాజులుగారితట్టునుంచి సైన్యమును కూర్చుకొని యుద్ధసన్నద్ధులై రాగాను వారికిన్ని బ్రహ్మరాక్షస సిద్ధయదేవమహారాజులుగారికిన్ని సోమశిల పట్నంవద్దను అఘోరమయిన యుద్ధము అయినది. ఆయుద్ధమందు బ్రహ్మరాక్షస సిద్ధయదేవమహారాజు గెలిచి ముక్తుడైనాడు. యిందుకు రుజువు తాలూకు మజుకూరు పర్గణే దువ్వూరుపైకి మవుజే అన్నలూరు అనే గ్రామం హాళ్లి బెచిరాఖు ఆగ్రామకంఠమైన స్థలముయందు వుజాడుఅయిన యీశ్వర దేవాలయంవద్దను శిలాశాసనము శాలివాహన శకవరుషములు ౧౧౮౩ అగునేటి దుర్మతిసంవత్సర మాఘ శు ౧౧ - లు తారీఖున వ్రాసివున్నది. ఇదిగాక అన్నలూరుగ్రామానకు వొక శివాలయముయందు భీమయలింగము ప్రతిష్ఠచేసి ఆదేవరకు అంగరంగ భోగమునకుగాను వృత్తియిచ్చినట్టుగాను సదరహీ శాసనములోనే వ్రాసివున్నది.

According to an account found in the 18th volume of the Local Records, p. 23, one Jotti Rāmi Nāyaḍu, a follower of Gaṅgaya Dēva, erected this stone tablet.[16]

In the 18th volume of the Local Records we find lower down on the same page 23, another passage relating to Gaṅgaya Dēva. Its date coincides with the end of 1271 and the beginning of 1272 A.D. It runs as follows:—

After the Mahārāja Gaṇgaya Dēva had been reigning for some time, the renowned Mahārāja Maṇḍalēśvara Tripurāntaka Dēva came and entered Duvvūru, made this village his capital, fortified extensively the site of the town, selected it as his residence, and held the sovereignty over a little territory. Proof of this is afforded in the inscription on a fragment of a stone-tablet near a snakebund on the raised earth mould of a fig-tree in the midst of the village Jannavaram belonging to the abovementioned division half a paragu on the west of the chief town of Duvvūru. On it is written "Hail to the illustrious Mahārāja Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Brahmarākṣasa Tripurāntaka Dēva who was ruling his kingdom in the town of Duvvūru in the enjoyment of peace and pleasant news in the year Prajōtpatti, corresponding to the Śaka year 1194." Three-fourths of this tablet is broken in pieces and cannot be made out, the whole context therefore is not known.

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[16] ఇదిగాక యీ గంగయదేవ మహారాజువద్ద నిజభృత్యుడైన జొత్తి రామినాయడు అనేవాడు వుండేవాడు - ఆ రామినాయుడు అనేవాడు మైదకూరికి ఆగ్నేయభాగమందు రెండు ఆమడదూరం పినాకినీ నదికి వుత్తరభాగమందు జ్యోతిసిద్ధనాథుడు అనే యీశ్వరలింగానకు దేవాలయం ప్రాకారగోపురములు కట్టించినాడు - ఇందుకు రుజువు సదరహీ దేవస్థానములో శిలాశాసనమువున్నది - శకవర్షములు ౧౧౮౩ దుర్మతి సంవత్సరం అని వ్రాసివున్నది.

ఈ గంగయదేవ మహారాజు కొన్నిదినములు ప్రభుత్వం చేశినపిమ్మట శ్రీ మన్మహామండలేశ్వరత్రిపురాంతకదేవ మహారాజు అనే ఆయన వచ్చి దువ్వూరికి ప్రవేశించి యీ గ్రామం రాజధానిచేసుకొని పేటస్థలం విరివిగాబస్తీచేసి అక్కడ నివాసంచేసుకొనివుండి సీమ కొంత ప్రభుత్వం చేసుకొంటూ వుండెను - యిందుకు రుజువు కసుబే దువ్వూరికి పశ్చిమభాగమందు అరపరగుమూరమున పరగణె మజుకూరుపైకి మౌజే జన్నవరం గ్రామనడుమ మేడిచెట్టు అరుగు నాగులకట్టవద్ది శిలాశాసనము పగిలిపోయిన తునకపయిన వుండే మతలబు - స్వస్తి శ్రీమన్మహామండలేశ్వర బ్రహ్మరాక్షస త్రిపురాంతక దేవ మహారాజు దువ్వూరిపట్టణంబున సుఖసంకథావినోదంబున రాజ్యముచేయుచుండగాను శకవర్షములు ౧౧౯౮ ప్రజోత్పత్తి సంవత్సరం అని వ్రాసివున్నది - ఈ శాసనం ముప్పాతికె పగిలిన తునకపోయినది కనుపించలేదు గనుక మతలబు అంతా తెలియలేదు.

The first place where the name of *Gōre Gaṅgaya Raḍḍivāru* is mentioned occurs in the 8th volume of the Local Records, page 81; there we find the following passage, whose date corresponds to Sunday, the 28th of December 1287 A.D., Old Style.

"The prime minister Gōre Rāya Gaṅgadēvayagāru having erected in honor of his king Mahārāja Ambadēva[17] maṇṭapams round the Paraśurāmēśvara temple in Aravuturēvulu in Pottapināḍu, as well as planted cocoanut trees and dedicated to the deity some freehold land, gave to Brahmans food and choultries at the time of the Makara Saṅkrānti on Friday the 5th of the dark fortnight of the month of Puṣya in the year Sarvajit, corresponding to the (*expired*) Śaka year 1209. On this same tablet it is written that he, after having built the village Ambāpura near Kaḍapaguḍi, transformed it into an agrahāram. Yet there is now near Kaḍapaguḍi no agrahāram

[17] Ambadēva reigned in Bellary.

called Ambāpuram; although we have inquired after it, we have heard nothing about it. On the other hand there is two parugas to the west of Kaḍapa an Agrahāram Ambavaram.[18]"

మహాప్రధాని గోఱె రాయగంగ దేవయగారు తన్నేలిన అంబదేవ మహారాజులకు పుణ్యముగాను శకవరుషంబులు ౧౨౦౯ నేటి సర్వజిత్తు సం॥ పుష్య బ ౫ శుక్రవారమునాడు మకర సంక్రమణ కాలమున పొత్తపినాటిలోని అఱవుతురేవుల పరశురామేశ్వరుని గుడి చుట్టు మంటపములు కట్టించి నారికేళములు వృక్షములున్ను వేయించి దేవునికి కొంతమాన్యమున్ను యిచ్చి మహేశ్వరులకు అన్నసత్రమున్ను పెట్టించినారు. ఈ శాసనములోనే కడప గుడివద్ద యంబాపురమనే వూరుకట్టించి అగ్రహారంచేసెను అని వ్రాసివున్నది. ఇప్పుడు కడప గుడివద్ద అంబాపురం అనే గ్రామం లేదు. మేము విచారించగాను వినలేదు. అయితే కడపకు పడమర రెండుపరువుల దూరమున అంబవరం అనే గ్రామం వున్నది.

The next allusion to Gōre Gaṅgaya in the Local Records (xviii, pp. 218, 219) is dated Sunday, 13th August 1290 A.D., Old Style, and reads as follows:—

When this Mahārāja Pratāpa Rudra Dēva governed the kingdom of the earth as the illustrious Mahārāja Gaṇḍapeṇḍēra Ambadēva ruled over the country, and when the illustrious prime minister Gorre Rayya Gaṅgadēvayagāru was with them as an experienced administrator, a boundary dispute having arisen between the villagers of the village Boḍḍeceruvu and the villagers of the village Rāvulakolani about a tract of land newly reclaimed from the forest of the abovementioned sub-district of Ōbaḷam,[19] Gaṅgadēvayagāru settled the boundary between the inhabitants of the two villages on Thursday the 7th day of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada

[18] Lies a few miles west from Kaḍapa. [19] In Kaḍapa.

in the Vikṛti year, corresponding to the (*expired*) Śaka year 1212. In support of this, there is a stone tablet inside the bank of the tank called Mugguru[20] of the three villages Ōbaḷam, Boḍḍecerla, and Brāhmaṇapalle in the tract of land newly reclaimed from the forest of Ōbaḷam.

ఈ ప్రతాప రుద్రదేవ మహారాజులు పృధ్వీరాజ్యం యేలుచుండగానె శ్రీమతు గండపెండేర అంబదేవమహారాజులు యీ దేశం యేలుచూవుండగాను వారివద్ద శ్రీమత్ మహాప్రధాని గొర్రెరయ్య గంగదేవయగారు కార్యదక్షులైవుండగా తాలూకు మజుకూరు వోబళం పాయకట్టులో మవుజే రావులకొలని గ్రామస్తులకున్ను మవుజే - బొడ్డెచెరువు గ్రామం వారికిన్ని పొలిమ్యార వివాదం వచ్చివుండగా గంగదేవయగారు వుభయగ్రామములవారికిన్ని పొలిమ్యార నిర్ణయంచేసిన శకం ౧౨౧౨ అగు నేటి వికృతి సంవత్సర భాద్రపద శు ౭ గురువారాన ఈ ప్రకారం వోబళం పాయకట్టున వోబళం బొడ్డెచర్ల బ్రాహ్మణపల్లె యీ మూడుగ్రామముల ముగ్గురను చెర్వుకట్ట లోతట్టున శిలాశాసనంవున్నది.

The same incident is alluded to in the 8th volume of the Local Records, page 81.[21]

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[20] ముగ్గురు means *three persons*, and this name is perhaps given because the tank belongs to the inhabitants of three villages.

[21] ఈ అంబరాజు సిద్ధవటం తాలూకు వోబళంలో చెల్లే మజరా గుంటుపల్లెకు వుత్తరం కాలుపరువుమూరమున యీపల్లెకున్ను బొడ్డెచెర్ల బ్రాహ్మణపల్లె యీ ముగ్గడ్డు సందున యీ అంబరాజు ప్రధాని గొర్రెరయ్య గంగదేవయ్యగారు కార్యదక్షులయివుండి పైనివ్రాసిన మూడువూళ్లకున్ను పొలిమ్యారవాదం వచ్చివుండగా నిర్ణయించిన శకవర్షంబులు ౧౨౧౨ అగు నేటి వికృతి సం॥ భాద్రపదశుద్ధ గురువారం నాడు శాసనం వేయించినారు.

From the abovementioned reports it is clear, that Gōre Gaṅgaya Raḍḍivāru, was a very influential personage closely connected with the Kākatīya sovereign and that he exercised independent rule in the Kaḍapa district.

So much only has it been possible to ascertain about Gōre Gaṅgaya Raḍḍivāru, but it is quite sufficient to establish his identity with the Gōre Rāya Gaṅgadēvayagāru of the Local Records.

II. On Viṭhala and his Family, the Narapatis.

The other individual, and in fact the principal person mentioned in the inscription, is Viṭhalanātha. About his existence even less is known than about Gaṅgaya. In fact, previous to my discovering an account of Viṭhala in Kōnērinātha's introduction to the Telugu version of the Bālabhāgavatam, I could ascertain nothing about his history. Fortunately the evidence supplied by Kōnērinātha is so strong that all doubts respecting the identity of Viṭhala are set at rest.

Kōnērinātha, a son of the minister Nāgaya[1] and a Telugu writer of eminence, flourished about the beginning of the fourteenth century. Stimulated by the example of such Telugu poets—as *Nannayabhaṭṭa*, the pioneer of Telugu poetry, who began the Telugu version of the Mahābhārata; *Bhīmanna* (Bhīma Kavi or Bhīma Kavīśvara), the author of the Bhīma Candassu; *Erraya* (Erra Pragada) and *Tikkaya* (Tikkana Sōmayāji), the first of whom continued and the latter of whom completed the Telugu translation of the Mahābhārata; and *Śrīnātha*—all of whom he mentions in his preface, Kōnērinātha undertook a Telugu adaptation of the Sanskrit Bhāgavata, which he named Bālabhāgavatam. It was

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[1] *See* Introduction to the Bālabhāgavatam, p. 5. Compare C. P. Brown's Telugu-English Dictionary about the time of Nannaya Bhaṭṭa and Tikkana.

written in honor of Timmarāja at the request of his son Tirumalarāja. To this Tirumalarāja, who was the eldest brother of Viṭhala, the Bālabhāgavatam was dedicated. The families of the Telugu princes in those days are distinguished by their literary propensities, and appear again and again as liberal patrons of poetry, arts and sciences.

In the preface to the Bālabhāgavatam, Kōnērinātha gives an accurate account of the family of his patron, which family is known as the dynasty of the Narapatis. As Kōnērinātha, who hailed from Duvvūru, was a son of a former minister, he enjoyed as such a peculiarly favorable position for being well informed about the family history of his protector. The genealogical information about the Narapatis supplied by Kōnērinātha coincides with the statements contained in the Vasucaritram of Rāmabhūṣaṇa, in the Narasabhūpālīyam of Śāradamūrti, in the Narapativijayam or Rāmarājīyam, the family chronicle of the younger line of the Narapatis and with those furnished by inscriptions.[2] But inasmuch as the patron of Kōnērinātha belongs to the elder branch of the Narapatis, and the other works just quoted are devoted to the younger royal line, information is given by Kōnērinātha about this elder branch which is not contained elsewhere. The elder line is descended from Timmarāja, the elder son of Rāmarāja, while the younger line is descended from Śrīraṅgarāja, the third and youngest son of the same prince.

The origin of the Narapatis is in all the four works and in the Dēvanhalli inscription traced back to Arjuna and thence to Candra. The Narapatis are moreover styled Cālukyas. According to the Narapativijayam and to the Dēvanhalli inscription Nandarāja is the eighty-third descendant of the Pāṇḍava Arjuna, and Cālukya the ninth descendant of Nanda. From Cālukya descended in course of time the well-known

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[2] *See* Bālabhāgavatam, p. 5. Compare with respect to the genealogy of the Narapatis the *Tamra Inscription at Devanhalli*, as given on pp. 252–256 in the Mysore Inscriptions by Mr. Lewis Rice.

Vijala or Bijjala of Kalyāṇa. This Vijala, who belonged to the family of the Kalacuryas, though he usurped the throne of the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇa, is himself called Cālukya Nārāyaṇa ; he is also known as Veṅga Tribhuvana Malla.[3] Vijala's power increased rapidly, until he came to an untimely end by the machinations of the famous Basava, the founder of the sect of the Liṅgamites. Vijala had raised this Basava from an insignificant position to the post of prime minister and commander-in-chief through the influence of the beautiful Padmavati, the sister of Basava, to whose charms Vijala had succumbed and whom he had married. Vajadēvamalla, Mollayya and Bommaṇṇa are mentioned in the Cannabasavapurāṇa as the actual murderers of Vijala.

The son of Vijala, generally known as the Yuvarāja, was, according to the Narapativijayam, the father of Hemmāḻirāja, who in his turn became the father of Tātapinnarāja, who in the Bālabhāgavatam, Vasucaritram, and Narasabhūpālīyam heads the list of the Narapati dynasty.

The Narapatis are therefore, according to the Narapativijayam, the representatives of Vijala, and, like him, they are repeatedly called Cālukyas. The Narapatis themselves rose to great power, especially in the territories of the Nizam, the Northern Circars and Ceded Districts.

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[3] In the Narapativijayam Vijala is called "the sovereign of the best town Kalyāṇa, belonging to the Ātrēya Gōtra, who purifies his family by the observance of Kṣatriya rites, a Cālukya Nārāyaṇa, a Cālukya Cakravarti, who is like a boar to the kings of the earth, Veṅgatribhuvana Malla," &c.

(కల్యాణపురవరాధీశ్వర ఆత్రేయగోత్ర క్షత్రియాచారకులపవిత్ర చాలుక్యనారాయణ చాలుక్యచక్రవర్తి మండలీకరధరణీవరాహవెంగ త్రిభువనమల్ల.)

The Basava Purāṇa also calls Vijala a Cālukya. According to Mr. L. Rice, "Mysore Inscriptions," p. 253, the Dēvanhalli inscription reads: "From him the eighth in descent was *Nanda*, from him the ninth was *Chalikya*, from him the seventh *Śripati*. . . Then came *Bhaira*, an equal of kings, from whom sprung *Bijjalendra*. The tenth in succession from him was *Vīra Hammāli Rāya*." The words *eighth* and *tenth* are wrong. Mr. Rice himself says that the inscription is very indistinct.

Tātapinnamarāja, the founder of the Narapati dynasty, who was also called Mannepuli, was succeeded by his son *Sōmadēva* who seems to have been a very powerful prince in his time. His cavalry consisted of 60,000 troopers. He is said to have resided at Āravīḍu and to have taken the seven fortresses Kandanavōlu, Răcūru, Sātānikōṭa, Yātagni, Kalupakolu, Musalimadugu, and Gaṅginēnikoṇḍa.[4] Among his titles are mentioned Bhāratimalla and Vibhāla. His son was Rāghavarāja, who was in his turn succeeded by *Pinnamarāja* or Pinnaśauri. Sāluva Narasiṅgarāya filled during this period the post of prime minister.[5] The next reigning prince *Bukkarāja* resided chiefly in Āravīḍu, and was therefore called Āravīṭi Bukkarāja. In his reign an expedition is mentioned against Kandanavōlu. He had two wives *Abbaladēvi*, the mother of *Siṅgarāja*, and *Ballādēvi*, the mother of *Rāmarāja*. The latter succeeded eventually to the throne of Kalyāṇa, after having ruled for some time at Kandanavōlu, which he had taken. He was also victorious in a war against the Kācādhīśa of Ādavēni: his army consisted, according to Kōnērinātha, of over 70,000 men.[6]

Rāmarāja had by his queen *Lakkāmba* three sons, *Timmarāja*, *Koṇḍarāja* (or Koṇḍaśauri) and *Śrīraṅgarāja*, the youngest of whom succeeded his father on the throne of Kalyāṇa. To this *Śrīraṅgarāja* who married *Timmāmba* are ascribed many victorious expeditions. He is said to have reduced the Nizam (Nijāma), taken Kāñcīpuram, and held power over the whole Karṇatik.[7]

Śrīraṅgarāja's eldest brother *Timmarāja* resided at Āravīḍu. He resembled his relatives in his warlike disposition, and was called Mannepuli or wild tiger.[8] He took Gutti, Penugoṇḍa,

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[4] *See* Narapativijayam, p. 23.

[5] *See ibidem*, p. 27.

[6] *See* Bālabhāgavatam, p. 9, and Narapativijayam. In the Dēvanhalli Inscription Ballādēvi is called Ballālīka.

[7] *See* Narapativijayam, p. 32, Vasucaritram I, p. 104. The title *Nizām* occurs previous to the Nizām Shāhi dynasty of Ahmednagar.

[8] *See* Bālabhāg., p. 8.

Durgi, Gaṇḍikōṭa, Kandanavōlu, and Ādavēni. Otherwise not much is known about him. Timmarāja was eventually killed by his nephew Rāmarāja.[9]

Timmarāja had four sons, Tirumalarāja, Viṭhala (or Viṭhalēśa), Cinnatimmarāja and Pāpatimmarāja.[10] The eldest, *Tirumalarāja,* acquired, it seems, great power ; he was called, like his ancestor Vijala, a *Cālukya Nārāyaṇa.*[11] At his court lived Kōnērinātha, the author of the Bālabhāgavatam, and it was at his patron's request that the work was composed. One need therefore not be astonished that the poet is anxious to praise his protector, but Kōnērinātha does not seem to have overstepped the limits of truth for the sake of glorification.

Next to Tirumalarāja, the principal personage in our inscription, *Viṭhala,* is the subject of Kōnērinātha's eulogy. Of him Kōnērinātha speaks in the following strain :—

"Viṭhala, the highest among kings, is a Dharmarāja,[12] who never prevaricates ; a Nārāyaṇa, who never begs; an Arjuna, who does not recede from the fight; a spotless moon, that does not lose her brightness ; a sun, which never sets ; an Indra, who does not covet other men's wives ; he is like an emblem of righteousness and the first among worthy men. Kṛṣṇa not being able to shake off the bond of friendship which existed between him and Arjuna, was born as Viṭhala, as the fortieth (forty-fifth ?) in his (Arjuna's) prosperous family, as the son of Timmabhūpāla, for the purpose of protecting righteousness. Viṭhala, the son of Rāmarāja Timmabhūpāla, acts amidst the sound of the war-drum as an impediment to the full flow of the rut, which comes from the crowd of elephants, which belong to the lord of elephants (Gajapati), who resides in the city of Kaṭaka, as a destroyer of the pride in their strength of the famous warriors of the Pāṇḍya king, as an originator of the shivering of the body of the king of horses (Tukkhārapati) of the great fortress of Makkhā,[13] and as a source of fear which prognosticates future

[9] *See* Narapativij., p. 36; Bālabhāg., p. 9; and Vasucaritram.

[10] *See* Bālabhāgavatam, p. 8.

[11] *See* Bālabhāgavatam, p. 3.

[12] All these comparisons are allusions to well known legends.

[13] *See* page 240.—The king of horses also called *Aśvapati* represents the Mahomedans.

separation from their king to the wives of the sovereign of the town of Delhi."[14]

The youngest brother of Viṭhala also distinguished himself as a soldier, for he bore the titles of Mannepuli and Mannevibhāla, and he is credited with having gained victories over the Mālavas, Śakas, and even over the Nipālas.[15]

Yet in spite of all the brilliant qualities of the sons of Timmarāja, their cousin *Rāmarāja* seems to have eventually

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[14] *See* Bālabhāgavatam, p. 12, lines 3–16:

ఉ॥ బొంకనిధర్మజుండడుగఁబోవనిపన్నగశాయియాజిలోఁ ।
గొంకనియర్జునుండు కఱకందులు లేనిశశాంకుఁ డెన్నఁడుం
గ్రుంకనిభానుఁ డన్యసతిఁగోరని జిష్ణుఁడనంగఁ బొల్చుధ ।
ర్మాంకుఁడు విఠ్ఠలక్షితివరాగ్రణి మానధనాగ్రగణ్యుఁడై ॥
మ॥ తనకున్నెచ్చెలియైనక్రీడిపయినంతర్మోహబంధంబువో ।
వనివాఁడై హరివిఠ్ఠలేశ్వరుఁడు తద్వంశంబునన్సంపదల్ ।
తనరన్నల్వదియేత్తరంబులగు నంతం దిమ్మభూపాలనం ।
దనుఁడై విఠ్ఠల రాజమూర్తిపొలిచెం ధర్మావనోద్యోగితన్ ॥
సీ॥ కటకాఖ్య కటకస్థకరటిరాడ్ఘ జఘటాసంభూతమదభర
స్తంభకంబు ।
పాండ్యభూమీభృత్సభావిరాజితభటోద్భటభుజాబలగ
ర్వభంజకంబు ।
మక్షామమహోదుర్గతుక్షారపతివపుస్థాయి వేపథుసముత్థాన
దంబు ।
డిల్లీపురాధీశపల్లవోష్ఠీభావివిప్రలంభకథాభయప్రదంబు ।
రామనరనాథతిమ్మ భూరమణపుత్ర ।
విఠ్ఠలేశాభిధానపృథ్వీకళత్ర ।
ధాటికారంభసంభ్రమధ్వనితపటహ ।
గణసముత్థితధణధణంధణరవంబు ॥

[15] *See* Bālabhāgavatam, p. 14.

maintained his position as head of the Narapatis. He was the third son of his father Śrīraṅgarāja and his mother Timmāmba ; his brothers being Kōnarāja, Timmarāja, Tirumalarāja and Veṅkaṭarāja. He had also a sister Lakkāmba, who was married to Aupalarāja, a son of Timmarāja, and was fifth in descent from Kalikāla Cō̱la Vibhuḍu of the Solar race. Aupalarāja's son was Narasarāja, to whom Śāradamūrti, who is also commonly called Bhaṭṭamūrti, dedicated the Narasabhūpālīyam.

Rāmarāja ruled for some time at Vidyānagara, aided by his minister Sadāśivarāja.[16] In the attempts to uphold his power Rāmarāja was loyally supported by his two younger brothers, Tirumalarāja and Veṅkaṭarāja, who defeated *Barīda*, put to flight Adilkhān and captured him near theBhīmarathi.[17] Family disputes must have run high in the family of the Narapatis, as Rāmarāja is even accused of having killed his uncle Timmarāja.[18] To Rāmarāja, who married a daughter of Kṛṣṇarāja, are attributed many valiant deeds in fighting both against his countrymen and the Mahomedans. According to the Narasabhūpālīyam the whole Karnāṭaka country was governed by Rāmarāja, who fought also successfully against Kutb-ul-Mulk (కుతువన), imposed tribute on Rācūru and subdued the Nizam. These facts the Vasucaritram also mentions. In the Narapativijayam also Rāmarāja defeats his Mahomedan foes under *Bhūdalakhān* (which might stand for Fuzlkhān فضل‌خان), *Yēdulakhān* (Adilkhān, عادل‌خان), *Nidānamalaka* (Nizām-ul-mulk, نظام‌الملك, or perhaps Ain-ul-mulk,

[16] *See* Bālabhāgavatam, p. 9.

[17] As mentioned in the Narasabhūpālīyam. Adilkhān (ఏదులఖాఁ) is also called Sapāda (సపాద)

[18] *See* Bālabhāgavatam, p. 9 and Narasabhūpālīyam. According to the latter work Timmarāja was beheaded by his nephew. The Vasucaritram also accuses Rāmarāja of his uncle's murder. *Salkaya* is the word used for uncle.

عين‌الملك), *Imādanamalaka* (Imād-ul-mulk, عمادالملك), *Kutuvanamalaka* (Kutb-ul-mulk, قطب‌الملك) and Vullikhan (Valikhan, ولی خان) all names which are of frequent occurrence.

The Narapativijayam, which is the family chronicle of the Narapati dynasty in the line of Rāmarāja, gives an exhaustive account of his exploits. This throws much light on contemporary history and also on certain passages in the Rācūru inscription, and is therefore given below in the Telugu text as well as with an English translation as follows :

జయ జయ స్వస్తి సమస్తసద్గుణస్తోమభద్ర రణరంగరా
మభద్ర కల్యాణమహీపాలభాస్వర కల్యాణపురవరాధీశ్వర
కన్యాకుమారీభీమరథీతటాంతనిక్షేపవిజయస్తంభ స్తోత్రేయ
యశఃప్రక్రియాపావనచరిత్ర ఆత్రేయగోత్ర క్షత్రియకులపవి
త్ర మహితకేళికాపారాయణ మహితచాళుక్యనారాయణ
ధానుష్కచక్రవర్తిబిరుద చాళుక్యచక్రవర్తిబిరుద నానావ
ర్ణమండలీకరగండ దైత్యంబరగండ హాత్తిబ్బరగండ భాసు

Translation.

"Be victorious, be victorious! Hail! (Rāmarāja) who is resplendent by the multitude of all good qualities, who is like Rāmabhadra on the battlefield, who is conspicuous as the king of prosperity, the sovereign of the best city of Kalyāṇa, who has erected a column of victory on the furthest banks of the Bhīmarathī and Kanyākumārī, whose life is purified by (*listening to*) praiseworthy panegyristic compositions, who belongs to the Ātrēya race, who is a purifier of the Kṣatriya caste, who devotes himself to the worthiest amusements, who is a worthy Cālukya Nārāyaṇa,[19] renowned by the title of Dhānuṣka Cakravarti, the sovereign of bowmen, renowned by the title of Cālukya Cakravarti, the lord of princes belonging to many castes, the conqueror of Daityambara, the lord of twelve princes, he who possesses a club-like shining arm, the lord of the worthiest among victors,

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[19] *See* p. 230.

రభుజాదండ జయబిరుదరగండ లసమసోగరుగండ హొసబి
రుదరగండ గండరగండ యిభగనికృతశరజన్యలంపట త్రిభువన
బిరుదులవెన్నుసంబెట పట్టినేయునిజానిష్ట వడ్డెరాయనిజా
భీష్ట ఇష్టవర్గాయఘనప్రియంకర అష్టదిగ్రాయమనోభయం
కర విజయచరితసింహాసనాభాస్వర విజయనగరసింహాసనా
ధీశ్వర యుత్తవర్గసద్యాధనపుర గుత్తిదుర్గనిర్భేదనపర
వాదిపూరతర్కాభరణ ఆదవేనిదుర్గాహరణ ఘనచండవ
ర్గబాధక పెనుగొండదుర్గసాధక మంద్రగిరివర్గరాజ్యభా

Translation.

Lasamasōgaruganḍa,[20] the lord of modern worthies, the hero of heroes, who delights in the bowfight made by persons on elephants, who is the hammer which strikes the back of the worthies of the three worlds, who is the cause of the calamity of Paṭṭinēya,[21] who is very friendly to Vaḍḍerāya,[22] who does much kindness to the circle of his friends, who is very formidable to the kings of the eight quarters, who is conspicuous on his throne by his victorious exploits, who is the sovereign of the throne of Vijayanagara,[23] *Yuttavargasadhyānapura,* who is intent on breaking the fort of Gutti,[24] who is an ornament of Tarka in the crowd of scholars, who took the fort of Ādavēni,[25] who punishes the throng of great evil-doers, who acquired the fort of Penugoṇḍa,[26] whose kingdom is resplendent by a multitude of mountain-like elephants, who is the sovereign of the kingdom of

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[20] The passages which defied translation are given in the literal transliteration.

[21] Not identified.

[22] *Oḍḍe* is a man who belongs to Orissa. About the Vadde Reddis see among others C. P. Brown's Cyclic Tables, p. 8.

[23] *Or* "one who shines on the throne called Vijayacaritra." The Hindu kings gave names to their thrones.

[24] Near Bellāry.

[25] Ādōni, formerly a very strong fortress.

[26] In Bellāry.

స్వర చంద్రగిరిదుర్గరాజ్యాధీశ్వర శబ్దపరినద్ధసాలక వుద్దగిరి
రాజ్యపాలక కాయదుర్గతనయబంధుర రాయదుర్గావన
ధురంధర వందనశీలకిరీటపాదక కందనవోలుకవాటభేదక చా
టూరుఫణితినిర్వాహక జూటూరుసమరనిర్వాహక చండఘో
టఖడ్గసాయక కొండవీటిదుర్గనాయక పుట్టపల్లిసీమాధిష్ఠిత
ధామసాగర రెట్టహళ్లిసీమాప్రతిష్ఠితధామసాగర వంకాదిమ
వీరసమాసంగిత బంకాపురవీరరమాలింగిత సాంద్రకీర్తినిరంతర
చంద్రగుప్తినిరంతర ఆచారరాజ్యభరణచర్య రాచూరురాజ్య

Translation.

the fortress of Candragiri,[27] who has a rampart which resounds with watchwords,[28] who is the protector of the kingdom of Uddagiri (Udayagiri),[29] the friend of the son of Kāyadurga, who bears the burden of guarding Rāyadurga,[30] to whose feet kings bow with their head-jewels, who broke the door of Kandanavōlu,[31] who is a patron of the flowing style of panegyrics, who fought the battle of Dsūtūru,[32] who has fierce horses, swords, and arrows, who is the master of the fort of Koṇḍavīḍu,[33] who is an ocean of fame placed in the country of Puṭṭupalli,[34] who has erected a famous tank in the country of Reṭṭahalli,[35] who fought with Vaṅka and other heroes, who was embraced by the goddess of heroism of Baṅkapura,[36] who is full of substantial glory, who stays often at Candragupti,[37] who by his acts guards

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[27] In North Arcot.

[28] *Or* "one who has fortresses built at a word" (uttered by him).

[29] Udayagiri in Nellore; there is also a place of the same name in the Nizam's territory.

[30] In Bellāry.

[31] Karnūl. Kandanavōlu (Kandanaprōlu ?) Also called Kandavōlu. Kandanūru and Kandūru is the same as Kandanavōlu, see p. 217.

[32] Both in Bellāry and Kaḍapa is a place of this name.

[33] In Guntūr.

[34] The modern Budvail in Kaḍapa.

[35] In Kaḍapa.

[36] In Dharwar.

[37] In the Nizam's territory, another Candragupti is in Mysore.

హరణధుర్య మదచండవర్గాధిదాయక ముదుగంటిదుర్గాధి
నాయక పరిభల్లుచరణభూషణ ఒరుగల్లునగరపోషణ విజయక
రాయతసాయక విజయాపురభయదాయక వర్లనాధిపరక్షో
వకార సొర్లలాపురసంక్షోభకార కల్యాశినృపకబాధక క
ల్యాణనగరసాధక సామదానముఖశీలరంజన ఆముదానగరసా
లభంజన దావకరమార్గవిక్రాంతిసార దేవగిరిదుర్గసమాక్రాం
తిధీర గౌతమీస్నానపావనాకార కౌతుకాధీనభావనాధార బ
లిచాపవిధాజన్యదారక హాలిపురచాంచల్యకారక బలిఘటితకూ

Translation.

the religious customs and his kingdom, who was foremost in taking the country of Rācūru, who causes anguish to the mass of pride-inflated miscreants, who is the principal governor of the fort of Mudugallu,[38] whose foot ornament is Paribhallu, who is a supporter of the town of Orugallu,[39] whose long arrow confers victory, who inspires fear in Vijayapura, who protects and helps the king of Varlana, who gives anxiety to Sōrlalapura, who annihilated bellicose kings, who subdued the town of Kalyāṇa, who pleases by his behaviour, such as conciliation and liberality, who broke the ramparts of Āmudānagara,[40] whose valour is unapproachable like the way of the flames of the forest fire, who was very brave at the taking of the fortress of Dēvagiri,[41] whose body is purified by the bath in the Gautamī,[42] who is the abode

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[38] Mudugallu in the Nizam's territory.

[39] *Or* Orukallu *or* Oraṅgallu, Ēkaśailanagara in the Nizam's territory. The meaning is "town of one rock."

[40] As Ahmednagar was only built in 1494, it can hardly be the same place, unless Ahmednagar was erected on the site of a former town, whose name was afterwards arabicized. Āmuda (ఆముదము) is a Telugu word meaning *Castor oil*, and a pun is even made on this word in another place of the text.

[41] Daulatabad.

[42] Name of one of the branches of the Gōdāvarī and of the Gōdāvarī itself.

టతమసింహసంహనన బెడదకోటనగరశృంగసంహనన కరికూ
టపాకలశౌర్య కలుబలిగికోటపాటనధుర్య నగరసమాక్రమణవి
చార సగరసమాక్రమణధీర పరచండనిర్గతకింకర పరచండదు
ర్గభయంకర సంసుదుర్గనితర్హణ హంసదుర్గనిబర్హణ
సుర్ణాటకవర్గసద్గ్రంథనాసిక కర్ణాటబుధధన్యాసిక జు
ర్ణారులభయనిర్నాయక నిర్ణసామజసముద్దృష్టనిష్ఠాధిదా
యక సామగిరిదాపక రామగిరిదుర్గప్రతిష్ఠాపక మేదినితలస
మగ్రసంపాదన యాదవగిరిదుర్గభేదన శీలచండమృదుభాషణ
గోలకొండపురదూషణ అయిలకొండచండవిమతహాలాహల

Translation.

of thoughts excited by curiosity, who frustrates the bow-fight of strong men, who causes fright to Halipura, who is strong like a lion in the punishing of deceitful rogues, who destroyed the towers of the town of Beḍadakōṭa,[43] whose bravery annihilates the enemies as fever the elephants, who was able to break down Kalubaligikōṭa,[44] whose thought is always directed to taking the towns of his enemies, who resembles Sagara in prowess, who is brave in fight like Sagara, whose servants appear fierce against his enemies, who frightens the formidable forts of enemies, who destroyed the fort Saṁsu, who destroyed the fort Haṁsa, who hurled his mantrams on the clan Sūrṇāṭāka,(?) who gave wealth to the wise men of Kārṇaṭaka, who allayed the fear of the people of Dsurnāru, *Nirṇasāmajasamudṛṣṭaniṣṭādhidāyaka*, who caused Sāmagiri to be given away, who built the fort of Rāmagiri,[45] who acquired the whole earth, who destroyed the fort of Yādavagiri, whose speech is both soft and hard, who destroyed the town Gōlakoṇḍa,[46] who was poison to his fierce enemies of Ayilakoṇḍa,[47] who was pleased with the capture of Ayilakoṇḍa,

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[43] Bedar in the Nizam's territory.

[44] Gulburga.

[45] One place of this name is in the Nizam's territory, another in Bellāry, besides others in other parts of India.

[46] Golkonda.

[47] Eilgundel in the Nizam's territory.

అయిలకొండహరణకౌతూహల సానుభల్లువృతిపరాక్రమ పా
నుగల్లుకృతిపరాక్రమ పానుగంటిదుర్గపాటనధుర్య భూనుత
సాహసధుర్య వెల్లితచండదుల్లభ బెల్లముకొండవల్లభ నిలయ
లోలగజతాకార మలయకేలిమహిమాధార కామసముదాచ
రణాక్రమణ రామపదమానసక్రమణ శావగవర్గబాధక మా
వురదుర్గమాధక ఖండితసమగ్రసంధాచణ దండితసమస్తశ
త్రుగణ లక్షారూఢరక్షానికర మక్షాకోటరక్షానికర మక్షాకోట
శిక్షానికర లక్షారూఢశిక్షానికర వుల్లిఖాన్ని జాత్తకల్లోలజాలక
ఢిల్లీపురహల్లకల్లోలహేలిక కేళితుమన్దారుగతబృందాయక గో

Translation.

who was brave in beleaguering Sanubhallu, who was victorious in founding Sānugallu, who was able to break down the fort of Pānugallu,[48] who was able to do grand deeds praised by all, who cannot be conquered by his surrounding enemies, who is the master of Bellamakoṇḍa,[49] who has elephants moving in the stables,[50] whose greatness enables him to play on the Malaya mountain, who punishes those who act according to their own desires, whose inclinations are directed to the feet of Rāma, who attacks the multitude of Jains,[51] who annihilated the fort of Māduru,[52] who is able to reconstruct broken alliances, who punishes all his enemies, who protected those who ascended Lakkhā,[53] who protected the fort of Makkhā,[54] who punished the fort of Makkhā, who punished those who ascended Lakkhā, who caused great fright to the friends of Vullikhān, who is the cause of terror to Delhi, *Kēḻitumandārugatabṛndāyaka*, who

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[48] In Hyderabad.
[49] In Guntūr.
[50] *Or* whose body is moving like that of an elephant.
[51] Śavaga.
[52] In the Krishna District. Instead of Lakkhā, the reading in one manuscript is in one place Akkhā.
[53] South of Aurangabad, see p. 212.
[54] Probably the modern Mehkar in the Berar.

లేరునందేరుఉభయసంధాయక కలంబవర్గసంభాసుర కలంబ
దుర్గకంపాసుర భూగోళరుచిరభూషణ పైగోదనగరభీషణ
కొండపల్లిహరణ చండకరనిభప్రతాపభరణ వినుకొండపాలక
వినూత్నకృతనాగార్జునునికొండసాలజాలక అవన్తికలితపూ
రణ అవన్తిమదకవిదూరణ కటకరాజ్యాధికలవర్తన కటకరా
జ్యఘటితకీర్తన ఆజికరేంద్రదారుణశరాసన రాజమహేంద్ర
రాజధనుశ్శాసన భూదలఖానుతిక్తాంగహరణ యేదులఖానుస
ప్తాంగహరణ నిదానమలకగుణసహజాపగాధిచారక నిదానమ

Translation.

joined the Gōlēru with the Nandēru,[55] who shines in the crowd of arrows, who like an Asura makes the fort of Kalamba shake, who is a shining ornament on the earth-globe, who frightened the town of Paigōva,[56] who took Koṇḍapalli,[57] who carries a splendour like the sun, who protected Vinukoṇḍa,[58] who restored the great number of ramparts of Nāgārjunadēva,[59] who fulfilled the wishes of Avanti (?), who suppressed the pride of Avanti,[60] whose career gives anxiety to the king of the Kaṭaka country, whose fame is spread in the Kaṭaka country, whose bow frightens the best warriors, who broke the bow of the king of Rājamahēndra,[61] who took the fragrant body of Bhūdalakhān, who took the kingdom[62] of Yēdulakhān, who has as his followers . . . . of Nidānamalaka, who took the strength of the arm of Nidānamalaka, who had the glory of his deeds

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55 In the Nizam's territory.
56 Another reading is Paigōda.
57 In the Krishna District.
58 In the Guntūr District.
59 Śiva.
60 Another reading is Lavanti.
61 Rājamandri.
62 Saptāṅgamu.

లకభుజాబలాపహారక రమాధిపవినుతాపదానకీర్తన ఇమాద
నమలకమానమర్దన భృతరిపుదళనబంధుర కుతువనమలర్కదళ
నసింధుర కరితరుణకారీశుసుగుణాభరణ బరిదుబలహరణ భు
జకృతరిపుధావనావధాన గజపతివినుతపరాక్రమావధాన కరిక
ర్కశసముగ్రస్తధిక్కృతారాతివర్గబలవిశాల కరివర్గమన
నిర్గపరకర్కవారాశివర్గకేళ గిరిదుర్గవనదుర్గజలదుర్గ
స్థలదుర్గచౌరాశితిదుర్గ సమస్తదళవిభాళ రిపురాజగోపికా
గోపాల గాయగోపాళ శ్రీరంగరాజరామభూపాల విజయీ
భవ దిగ్విజయీభవ.

Translation.

praised by Ramādhipa,[63] who crushed the pride of Imāda-namalaka, who is able to destroy crowds of enemies, who like an elephant trampled on Kutuvanamalaka, *Karitaruṇakārī-śusuguṇābharaṇa,* who took the strength of Barid, who with his arm devoted himself to the flight of his enemies, whose glory is praised by Gajapati, whose great strength despises the enormous array of the enemy, who is formidable through his elephants, *Karivargamananirgaparakarkavārāśivargakēḻa,* who injured all mountain-forts, forest-forts, water-forts, land-forts and army-forts, who behaves to hostile kings like Kṛṣṇa, who sings like Kṛṣṇa, O King Rāma, son of Śrīraṅgarāja, be victorious, be victorious in all the quarters!"

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[63] Viṣṇu.

The Narapativijayam or Rāmarājīyam was towards the end of the sixteenth century compiled by Veṅkaya, son of Sūraya, at the special command of (Kōdaṇḍa) Rāmarāja, the son-in-law of the famous Kṛṣṇa Rāja, the king of Vijayanagaram. Rāmarāja himself became renowned as ruler of Vijayanagaram by his valiant exploits and successful administration. The work was written previously to the fatal battle of Tālikōṭa, where Rāmarāja lost his life. Vēṅkaya based, no doubt, his earlier accounts of the family-history of his patron on the historical records of contemporary writers, such as are compiled and preserved in the different reigning families. Most of the Indian princely families keep even now such records. This remark is only made to secure to the passages extracted from the Narapativijayam that consideration which they deserve.

The statements of the Narapativijayam with respect to Rāmarāja are in most cases also supported by the Pratāpa Rudra Caritram and the account of the kings of Oraṅgallu, both which manuscripts are in the Madras Government Oriental MSS. Library. From these works we clearly perceive the dissension which reigned among the Hindu princes; for while Pratāpa Rudra supported by the Narapati princes, especially by Rāmarāja, was fighting against the Muhammadan invader, the Rāja of Kaṭak was the firm ally of the latter. Again and again Rāmarāja who filled the post of Commander-in-Chief of Pratāpa Rudra's army, fought successfully against Vali Khan and the Rāja of Kaṭak, but he could not prevent the final defeat of Pratāpa Rudra and his being made the prisoner of Vali Khan. He tried though unsuccessfully to intercept the victorious Vali Khan and to liberate Pratāpa Rudra, but though surrounded, Vali Khan escaped. Yet the Rāja of Kaṭak had to suffer from the hands of Rāmarāja, for he was killed by him and even the Rāja's son and successor Mukunda Sundara, found a fierce foe in Rāmarāja. During the captivity of Pratāpa Rudra in Delhi, his younger brother

Anamadēva continued the war in alliance with Rāmarāja and at last they succeeded in defeating Vali Khan and the Rāja of Kaṭak. As a reward for these glorious deeds Pratāpa Rudra, when he had returned from his captivity, gave to Rāmarāja his daughter Rudramma as wife, and Anamadēva gave him his daughter Mummakka. Pratāpa Rudra conferred on him also all the land south of the Kṛishṇa river and presented him with five crores of gold coins.

Though Rāmarāja had left a numerous family behind, the immediate heir to his throne was his younger brother *Tirumalarāja* (also called *Erratimmarāja* to distinguish him from his elder brother) who resembled his brother in energy and bravery. In battles fought near Penugoṇḍa, the Nizam suffered defeat at the hands of Tirumalarāja, as is related in the Vasucaritram. In the Narasabhūpālīyam he is called Cālukya Nārāyaṇa and Mannevibhāla. He is, moreover, known as a friend and protector of poets and scholars. Rāmarājabhūṣaṇa dedicated to him his Vasucaritram, and it contains a good account of the history of Tirumalarāja. His wife was *Veṅgalāmba*, by whom he had four sons, Raghunātharāja, Śrīraṅgarāja, Śrīrāmarāja, and Veṅkaṭarāja, who assisted their father, when they had grown up, in consolidating and extending his rule. *Raghunātharāja*, who assumed as his ensign the Varāha or boar, fought, according to the Vasucaritram, successfully against the Sapāda and the Nizam in a battle near the Kṛishṇa river. His brother *Śrīraṅgarāja*[64] was

[64] It is to this *Śrīraṅgarāja* that the Dēvanhalli inscription refers. The date given by Mr. Rice is incorrect. It should be Śaka 1306 instead of Śaka 1506, if the numeral words *aṅga* (6), *ambara* (0) and *indu* (1) are right, there ought to be a numeral word denoting three, *e.g.*, *vahni*, instead of *bāṇa* (5) between *ambara* and *indu*. The pedigree given in the inscription is clear and coincides totally with all the other records. A great point in favor of the accuracy of the inscription is that it agrees in the names of the wives of the different kings. Thus the wife of the first Rāmarāja was *Lakkāmba*, that of Śrīraṅgarāja was Timmāmba, that of Tirumalarāja Vēṅgalāmba, and the name of one of their sons was *Śrīraṅgarāja*. The inscription seems to have been very illegible, as the beginning of p. 254 (see Rice's Mysore Inscriptions) gives no sense. Tirumalarāja had no son *Viśākhi*.

installed as crown-prince or Yuvarāja, and superintended the administration of Kuntala, Lāṭa, Vatsadēśa (Magadha), Kāñci and Aṅga. He made himself also master of Śrīraṅgapaṭṇam, the well-known island in the Kāvērī river. Of *Śrīrāmarāja* nothing is particularly known, *Veṅkaṭarāja* is reported to have resided at Candragiri.

As Tirumalarāja, the brother of Rāmarāja, was the patron of Rāmabhūṣaṇa, the author of the Vasucaritram, and as his nephew Narasarāja was the patron of Śāradamūrti, the author of the Narasabhūpālīyam, it is clear that the author or authors of these two works could not have lived two hundred years later at the court of Vijayanagaram in the time of Kṛṣṇa Rāja and of Kōdaṇḍa Rāma Rāja,[65] his son-in-law. And yet this is the common tradition which has been even adopted by scholars of reputation. Horace H. Wilson makes repeatedly this wrong assertion[66]; so does the Rev. William

[65] Kōdaṇḍa Rāma Rāja occupied the throne till 1564.

[66] *See* Descriptive Catalogue of the Mackenzie Collection, I, pp. 297, 341, and 352. On page 297 Wilson says: "Of the learned men of his court, eight are distinguished as the eight *Dig-gajas* or elephants who uphold the world of letters. The names of the whole have not been ascertained, but the following five were of the number—*Appāya Dikshit, Allasāni Peddana, Venkatapāta, Bhattumurtti, Pingala Suranārya.*" On page 341 he observes that the Vasucaritram was written "by *Bhattumurtti*, said to have been one of the poets of the court of Krishna Raya and Rāma Rāja, composed by desire of Terumala Raya Rāja of Pennaconda after the downfall of Vijayanagar, one of the five grandsons of *Rama Raja.*" Here Wilson is entirely wrong. The Tirumala alluded to is not the brother of Rāma Rāja of Vijayanagaram who succeeded after the battle of Tālikōṭa to establish himself at Penugoṇḍa, but Tirumala Raja, the brother of the first Rama Rāja, who reigned at Penugoṇḍa. He was the grandson of *Rāma Rāja* and one of *five* brothers. Rāma Rāja of Vijayanagaram was the grandson of *Veṅkaṭa Rāja* and one of *three* brothers; and on page 352 he contends that the Narasabhūpālīyam "derives its name from Narasa, the father of Krishna Raya, whose genealogy is traced by the poet from the sun through the solar race of princes to Kalikala Chola. In his family, it is said, *Pochi Rāja* was born, and from him Narasa is made the 28th in descent. Narasa Rāya was Prince of Vijayanagara about 1495." *Compare* the genealogical table on page 277. Messrs. Higginbotham and Co. in Madras have lately carefully reprinted Wilson's Catalogue, and there these remarks occur respectively on pages 295 and 301.

Taylor[67]; Cavelly Venkata Ramasvami[68] too and many others have adopted and spread the same mistake. It seems almost impossible how any one who has read the Vasucaritram and the Narasabhūpālīyam could make such wrong statements; the pedigree is given most clearly in both poems which entirely coincide in all particulars, especially about Tirumala and his family. Our genealogical tree of the Narapatis is partly based on these abovementioned works. The author of the Vasucaritram is called Rāmarājabhūṣaṇa; that this is not a real, but an assumed name need not be specially proved. The poet in question was patronised by Rāmarāja, the brother of Tirumalarāja, and was accordingly called "the ornament of Rāmarāja." The seventeenth verse of the Avatārika to the Vasucaritram confirms this assertion. The poet introduces Tirumalarāja as saying the following words: O poet Rāmabhūṣaṇa, thou hast pleased many a time by Sanskrit and Telugu poems my elder brother Rāmarāja, who was a great conqueror and a master of all sciences, and hast been honored by him with gifts of necklaces of gems, horses, elephants, and villages; thou art in all ways a worthy person.[69]

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[67] *See* Catalogue Raisonné of Oriental Manuscripts, III, pp. 206 and 219. Mr. Taylor says about the Narasabhūpāliyam that it is "a poem by one of the *Ashta dicgajas* at Vijayanagaram, there having been eight learned men so termed by way of distinction. *Timma Rāju*, or by title *Bhattamurtti*, from poetical eminence, was one of these eight poets of Krishna Rayer's court. This work, written by him, is entitled after the father of Krishna Rayer; and, as usual, contains the genealogy of the patron." About the Vasucaritram Mr. Taylor observes that it was "composed by Bhattamurtti, one of the eight celebrated poets at Vijayanagaram. It was written after the capture of Vijayanagaram and under the patronage of Timmarāja of Pennaconda, son of the ill-fated Rāmarāja, last of the Vijayanagaram dynasty and elder brother of the two rulers at Chandragiri and Seringapatam."

[68] *See* Biographical Sketches of Dekkan Poets, pp. 85, 86.

[69] *See* Vasucaritram, verse 17.

శా॥ శ్రీరామక్షితిపున్మదగ్రజుజయశ్రీలోలునానాకలా ।
పారీణుంబహుసంస్కృతాంధ్రకృతులం బల్మాఱుమెప్పించి త ।
త్కారుణ్యంబునరత్నహారహయ వేదండాగ్రహారాది స ।
త్కారంబందితిరామభూషణకవీ ధన్యుండవీవన్నిటన్ ॥

The word *Bhaṭṭu* is, moreover, not a proper name; it is the general term for "bard," and corresponds in meaning to the Sanskrit *māgadha*. The bard or *bhaṭṭu* belongs to the royal caste, in which he occupies a subordinate position, and his office is to praise the deeds of his royal patron.

Thus another name of the author of the Narasabhūpālīyam is Śāradamūrti, who is also called Bhaṭṭamūrti.

The Rāmarāja, son-in-law of Kṛṣṇarāja, at whose court Bhaṭṭamūrti is said to have lived, is therefore, not as was assumed up to now, the Rāmarāja, the son of Veṅkaṭarāja[70] and son-in-law of Kṛṣṇarāja of Vijayanagaram, but is Rāmarāja, the son of Śrīraṅgarāja and son-in-law of another Kṛṣṇarāja. It is a peculiar coincidence that not only are the names of the fathers-in-law of both Rāmarājas the same, but those of their brothers also agree, they being in both cases Timma and Veṅkaṭa. Moreover the names of the sons of the two *Tirumalarājas* are the same, as in both cases we meet with a Śrīraṅga and Veṅkaṭa.[70] These resemblances have, no doubt, contributed to the confusion. We need not continue here our inquiry into the history of the Narapatis, as it does not concern the immediate object we had in view, in elucidating the events, alluded to in the Raichore inscription. On the other hand we cannot omit mentioning the fact that the Hindu prince, Śrīraṅgarāja, who granted to the English negotiator, Mr. Francis Day, the site on which now stands Madras, the capital of Southern India, was the last Narapati, who reigned at Candragiri. He was descended from Timma Rāja, the second brother of Rāma Rāja, who fell in the battle of Tālikōṭa.

We thus see what an important link the Narapatis form between ancient and modern Indian history.

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[70] Dr. Burnell gives on page 55 in the second edition of his "Elements of South Indian Palæography" *Vīrappa Nāyak* as the name of the father of Rāma Rāja and his two brothers. This is incorrect.

In the above pages we hope thus to have proved the identity of Gōre Gaṅgaya Raḍḍivāru with Gōre Rāya Gaṅgadēvayagāru and of Viṭhalanāṭha with Viṭhalēśa, the prince Viṭhala of the Narapati line. We hope further to have brought to light the important part the Narapati princes played in the history of Southern India, and their connection with the Cālukyas, through Vijala, the head of the Kalacurya dynasty. Incidentally we have also been able to prove that Viṭhala's cousins, Rāmarāja and Tīrumalarāja were intimately connected with Telugu literature, by the patronage they granted to contemporary writers, and that the Rāmarāja, the son-in-law of Kṛṣṇa Rāja and the patron of the so-called Bhaṭṭamūrti is not the Rāmarāja, who usurped in the sixteenth century the throne of Vijayanagara, but Rāmarāja, the son of Śrīraṅgarāja, who lived two centuries previously in the first half of the fourteenth century.

The Narasarāja, the hero of the Narasabhūpālīyam, is moreover not the father of Kṛṣṇarāja but of Śrīraṅgarāja, so that also in this respect the opinion hitherto upheld rested on a false basis.

Whether the authors of the Vasucaritram and of the Narasabhūpālīyam were one and the same person is another question, but it is neither improbable nor is it necessary.

Moreover, from the facts brought to light in this inquiry, it appears clearly that the Mahomedan invasion of the Dekkan was not at first so successful in conquering the native Hindu States as has been generally assumed till now; but such an inquiry deserves separately special attention.

II.

II.—SANSKRIT AND KANARESE COPPER ŚĀSANAMS ENGRAVED IN NANDINĀGARĪ CHARACTERS DUG UP NEAR WANDEWASH.

These two Śāsanams were dug up near Wandewash by Colonel Branfill, who kindly sent them to me for translation. The Śāsanams which are published here have neither been previously printed nor translated. In some respects they resemble those found in the collections made by Colebrooke and Rice.[1] Our two Śāsanams are on three copper-plates, united by a copper ring with a *Vāmana* seal, the old emblem of the Vidyānagara kings. The plates are tablet-shaped, in the middle 9 inches, on the sides 7½ inches long and 5½ inches broad.

The first Śāsanam is on two plates, one of which is engraved on one and the other on both sides, 28 lines with 28 to 30 letters a line are on the first two sides and the third side has 15 lines with the signature of Tryambaka in Telugu. The second Śāsanam is on one plate with 28 lines on each side.

Text of the First Śāsanam.

॥ श्रीगणाधिपतये नमः ॥

कारणं जगतां वंदे कंठादुपरिवारणं ।
मातामहमहाशैलं महस्तद्पितामहं ॥ १ ॥
क्षेमं वः प्रचुरीकुर्यात् क्षोणीमभ्युद्वहन् हरिः ।
क्रोडाकृतेरभूद्यस्य क्रीडापल्वलमंबुधिः ॥ २ ॥
अस्ति क्षीरार्णवोद्भूतमपांपुष्पमनुत्तमं ।
अम्लानं यदनिर्माल्यमाधत्त शिरसीश्वरः ॥ ३ ॥

[1] *Compare* about a similar Śāsanam *H. J. Colebrooke* "On Ancient Monuments containing Sanskrit inscriptions" (Asiatic Researches, IX, pp. 398—444, reprinted in Professor E. B. Cowell's Edition of Colebrooke's Miscellaneous Essays, II, pp. 213—255, see pp. 227—235); and *Lewis Rice* in his "Mysore Inscriptions," Bangalore, 1879, pp. 277—280. The translation of Nos. 149 and 150 in the Mysore Inscriptions is neither literal nor complete.

सदामोदनिधेस्तस्य सन्ताने यदुसंज्ञिते ।
अभूदाश्चर्यमाधुर्यं वसुधायास्तपःफलं ॥ ४ ॥
सङ्गमो नाम राजाभूत्सारभूते तदन्वये ।
रेजे यस्य यशस्सिंधोस्सरणीव सुरापगा ॥ ५ ॥
सर्वरत्ननिधेस्तस्य सम्राडासीत् तनूभुवां ।
मध्ये बुक्कमहीपालो मणीनामिव कौस्तुभः ॥ ६ ॥
तस्य गौरांबिकाजानेस्तनयोभूद्गुणोन्नतः ।
हारगौरयशःपूरहारी हरिहरेश्वरः । ॥ ७ ॥
यत्षोडशमहादानयशसां दिग्विहारिणां ।
भूयसामभवन्नालं भुवनानि चदुर्दश ॥ ८ ॥
प्रतापदेवरायोस्य पुत्रोभूद्भुवि विश्रुतः ।
प्रमोद इव मूर्तोयं प्रजानां स्वैर्गुणैरभूत् ॥ ९ ॥
प्रत्यर्थिसमिधो हुत्वा प्रतापाग्नौ रणांकणे ।
विहितो येन वीरेण विजयश्रीकरग्रहः । ॥ १० ॥
तस्य हेमांबिकाजानेस्तनयो विनयोन्नतः ।
विद्यानिधिर्विशेषज्ञो वीरो विजयभूपतिः ॥ ११ ॥
असौ विजयभूपालः पित्रा दत्तं स्वतेजसा ।
समस्तं द्राविडं देशमासिंध्याः पर्यपालयत् ॥ १२ ॥
बुक्कक्षितीशसदने हरितान्ववायः
श्रीसिंहसूरिरभवत्प्रथमानकीर्तिः ।
यद्द्वारपञ्जरशुकाः किल सर्वशास्त्र-
सिद्धांतभंजनसमर्थनकेलिलोलाः ॥ १३ ॥
तत्पुत्रस्तार्किकाचार्यः पदवाक्यप्रमाणवित् ।
सर्वं हरिहरक्षोणीभुजां धर्ममब्रवीत् यत् ॥ १४ ॥

तत्पुत्रो हंपणाचार्यस्सर्वविद्याविशारदः ।
निजेन चरितेनासीद्वसिष्ठ इव पूजितः ॥ १५ ॥
राज्ञा हरिहरेणापि देवरायेण भूभुजा ।
अचीकरदसौ विद्वान् महादानानि षोडश ॥ १६ ॥
सोयं विजयभूपालो हंपणार्याय धीमते ।
स्वदेशे चेट्टुपेडाख्यं ग्रामं मान्यं प्रदत्तवान् ॥ १७ ॥

स्वस्ति श्रीविजयाभ्युदयशकवर्ष १३३८ वर्तमानदुर्मुखि संवत्सरद भाद्रपदबौळ सप्तमियलु श्रीमन्महामण्डलेश्वर श्रीवीरप्रतापविजयरायवोडयरु हरितगोत्रद आपस्तंबसूत्रद सकलविद्याविशारद तार्किकहंपणैयगळिगे कोट्ट ग्रामशासनदक्रमवेंतेंदरे पडबीडुराज्यदलु सप्तनाथनु माडुव आगरदहोबाळ्ळि यनु वृत्तिपट्टिनळ्ळि शेरिबहकोनैकोट्टपट्टिन चेट्टुपेडेंब ग्रामक्के सल्लुव तगरइरुंपेडंतागलु सह कुलवरहगद्याण इप्पत्तुमूरुहोन्नु मूरुहणं वट्टदिन्द होन्नुहणंवड्डहुरुळिय तुंट्टदिदंद मूरुहणवड्डंबेळे अंतु रोक्कवराह इप्पत्तुनालुहोन्नु एट्टुहणंबेळे यकालुपळ्ळिसह चेट्टुपेडुग्रामवन्नु तेजोनिधियलु महामायाप्रीतियागि सर्वमान्यदानधारापूर्वकवागि कोट्टद्दु. ईग्रामक्के सलुव सुंकद भत्य मार्गयडतोरे चेक्ककडमे वाणियरु सेट्टियरु सेणियरु कैकोळरतेरिगिवोळगाद सकलसुवर्णादाय सकलभत्तादायसाहितवागि सर्वमान्यवागि आचन्द्रार्कस्थायियागि अनुभविसुदु. ईग्रामद चतुस्सीमेयविवर ईसानामोदलागि एर्रकोंडकेणियकल्लुशासन, अल्लिद नड्डुसीमेयकल्लुपोरडियसालु, अल्लिद आग्नेयएल्ले वाहकोल्लगे तेंकलु एल्लकुलि, अल्लिंद तेंकलुकलरवयलु, अल्लिंद तेंकलु एरेयकोलेयमूडणसीमे, अल्लिंद तेंकलुकारणेयकेरेये गणपोक्करैमड्डु, इदरिंद तेंकलु पुलिकुल, अल्लिंद

तेंकलु समयनारायणंकुलक्केबडगनकल्लु, अल्लिंद वायव्य गुड्डदनडुवणतेवरुमरिसु, अल्लिंद वायव्य सदरहोइदकल्लु, अल्लिंद बडगलु एल्टिकुलि, अल्लिंद नाच्चिमांगलपडुवनकोडियहुत्त, अल्लिंद येत्तणङ्केयमूडणवरपु, अल्लिंद बडगलु मुरुकंकुलियपल्लगुलियशासन, अल्लिंद मूडलु मुक्कदकल्लु, अल्लिंद ईसानकल्लुसालु, अल्लिंद पालकोल्लेयमूडणमरिसु, अल्लिंद करुवलेवेले, अल्लिंद एल्लेकल्लुगळु, अल्लिंद एर्रकोनकेणि. ईचतुस्सीमेवोळगादनिधिनिक्षेपजलपाषाणसिद्धसाध्यअक्षिणिआगामिगोभूहिरण्याद्यष्टभोगवेंब स्वाम्यसहितवागि सर्वमान्यदानधारापूर्वकवागि कोट्टदु. आचन्द्रार्कस्थायियागि अनुभविसुवदु.

एकैव भगिनी लोके सर्वेषामेव भूभुजां ।
न भोज्या न करग्राह्या विप्रदत्ता वसुंधरा ॥
दानपालनयोर्मद्ध्ये दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनं ।
दानात्स्वर्गमवाप्नोति पालनादच्युतं पदं ॥
स्वदत्ताद्विगुणं पुण्यं परदत्तानुपालनं ।
परदत्तापहारेण स्वदत्तं निष्फलं भवेत् ॥
स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुंधरां ।
षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि विष्ठायां जायते क्रिमिः ॥
सामान्योयं धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणां कालेकाले पालनीयो भवद्भिः ।
सर्वानेतान् भाविनः पार्थिवेंद्रान् भूयो भूयो याचते रामचन्द्रः ॥

॥ ಶ್ರೀ ತ್ರಿಯಂಬಕ ॥

TRANSLATION.

Sanskrit Text.

Salutation to the revered Gaṇādhipati!

I salute that greatness, the cause of the worlds, him who is an elephant (in shape) above his neck, who has the great

mountain for his maternal grandfather and does not possess any paternal grandfather. May Hari, who lifts up the universe, and to whom, when he had assumed the shape of a boar, the ocean became a pleasure-pond, increase your happiness.

There is a water flower [2] which, not having its equal, arose from the milky ocean, and which unwithered, Īśvara placed unsullied on his head.

There grew a fruit from the penance of the earth, of extraordinary sweetness, in the Yadu family,[3] of him (*Candra*) who is a receptacle of agreeable smells. In his (Candra's) vigorous family arose a king *Saṅgama* by name; the heavenly river (Ganges) shone like his path, whose glory was (like) that stream. Among the sons of him who was a storehouse of all jewels there was a sovereign prince *Bukkamahīpāla* like the Kaustubha gem among jewels. His (Bukkamahīpāla's) and *Gaurāmbikā's* son was *Harihārēśvara*, who, endowed with excellent qualities, was resplendent through the fulness of his glory like a pearl necklace. The fourteen worlds were not sufficient for the higher renown of his sixteen gifts, which renown pervaded all the regions. His (Harihārēśvara's) son was *Pratāpadēvarāya*, who, renowned on earth, became by his virtues to his subjects like an embodied joy. By this hero was wedded on the battle-field the goddess of fortune, the firewoodlike enemies being sacrificed in his firelike prowess. His (Pratāpadēvarāya's) son, born from *Hēmāmbikā*, was the hero *Vijayabhūpāla*, who knew all distinctive qualities, was a storehouse of wisdom and excelled in modesty. This Vijayabhūpāla guarded with his glory up to the sea the whole Drāviḍa country given to him by his father.

There lived in the house of the king Bukka, *Śrīsiṁhasūri* of the Harita family, a man of renowned reputation; even the parrots which were in the cages at the doors of this house

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[2] Allusion to *Candra*, the moon.

[3] Santāna (family) is also the name of one of the five trees of Indra's heaven.

were fond of the sport of attempting to refute the admitted facts of all sciences. His son *Tārkikācārya*, knowing Tarka, Mīmāṁsā and Vyākaraṇa, propounded to the kings of Harihara all the ordinances of dharma. His son *Hampaṇācārya*, an expert in all sciences, was in consequence of his conduct honored like Vasiṣṭha. This wise man caused sixteen great gifts to be made by the king Harihara and the prince Dēvarāya. This Vijayabhūpāla gave to the wise Hampaṇārya the village *Ceṭṭupēḍu* in his country as a present.

Kanarese Text.[4]

Hail! The village-grant executed on the seventh day of the dark fortnight of the current year Durmukhi, in the victorious and prosperous 1338th (*expired*) Śaka year by the blessed monarch, the honored Vīrapratāpavijayarāya Voḍayaru, to the logician Hampaṇaiya of the Haritagōtra and Āpastambasūtra, who is skilled in all the branches of learning, is as follows :—

The village of Ceṭṭupēḍu, together with the tank near Tagara Irumpēḍu, which village Ceṭṭupēḍu belongs to Kōnaikōṭṭapaṭṭi, which is enclosed in the freehold list of the Hōballi of Āgara, (and) governed by Saptanātha in the province of Paḍabīḍu, together with twenty-three hons[5] and three fanams according to the weight of the silver pagoda in the village, with one hon and one and-a-half fanams by money exchange, three and-a-half fanams and one bele by depreciation of currency, in all twenty-four hons, eight fanams and one bele in cash, together with the village of Yakālu, is made over in honor of Mahāmāyā, the mine of glory, while water was poured out to legalize the gift.

The excise duties levied in this village, the road-cess, together with the tax on oil-mill owners and other oil-mongers,

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[4] In the Kanarese translation I have been much assisted by M.R.R. *M. J. Śrīnivāsācāryār* and *M. Tātadēśikatātācāryār*.

[5] One *pagōda* has 2 hons, 1 *hon* 5 fanams, 1 *fanam* 8 beles, 1 *bele* 2 vis, 1 *vis* 4 kandis.

on bazaarmen, cloth merchants and weavers, with all the income from revenue and all income from paddy should be enjoyed as a free gift so long as the sun and the moon last.

This is the description of the four boundaries of the village. Commencing on the north-east, the stone inscription of *Errakoṇḍakēṇi*, thence the middle boundary line of the front stone (?), thence on the south-east boundary, the boundary ditch south of *Vāhakolle*, thence southward *Kalaravayalu*, thence southward the eastern boundary of *Ereyakola*, thence southward *Kāraṇeyakere* and the pond at *Gaṇapokkare*, thence southward *Pulikula*, thence southward the northern stone of *Samayanārāyaṇaṅkula*, thence on the north-west *Tevarumarisu* in the middle of the hill, thence south-west a square stone, thence on the north *Eṭṭikuli*, thence the northern snake hole of *Nāccimāṅgala*, thence the eastern bund of *Yettaṇaṅgēya*, thence northward the stone inscription at *Pallaguli* of *Murukaṅkuli*, thence eastward the broken stone, thence towards the north-east the row of stones, thence the eastern corner of *Pālakolle*, thence *Karuvalevele*, thence boundary stones, thence *Errakonakēṇi*.

The mines, buried treasure, water, stones, actually existing and in future accruing property, visible and hidden property, such as animals, lands, coins, &c., which eight enjoyable freehold possessions contained within these four boundaries are granted, while water was poured out to legalize the gift.

Sanskrit Text.

The land, given to the Brahmans, is to be regarded surely in the world by all kings as a sister; it is not to be enjoyed and not to be taxed.[6]

Of the two, giving and protecting, protecting is better than giving; by giving one obtains heaven, by protecting one obtains the imperishable state. The protection of what was

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[6] The other meaning is "wedded."

given by another is twice as good as what one gives oneself. By taking away the gift made by another, the gift which one has made oneself becomes fruitless. Whoever should take away the land given by himself or by others is born a worm in fæces for 60,000 years.

This bridge of law is the same for all kings, it is always to be observed by you. Rāmacandra demands this for ever from all the present and future excellent princes.

In Telugu characters added Śrī Triyambaka.

Text of the Second Śāsanam.

॥ श्रीगणाधिपतये नमः ॥

बुक्कक्षितीशसदने हरितान्ववायः
श्रीसिंहसूरिरभवत्प्रथमानकीर्तिः ।
यद्द्वारपञ्जरशुकाः किल सर्वशास्त्र-
सिद्धांतभंजनसमर्थनकेलिलोलाः ॥
तस्यासीत्तनयश्श्रीमान् तादृग्दिव्यगुणोन्नतः ।
तार्किको विष्णुयज्वासीद्व्याख्याता विश्वविश्रुतः ॥
राज्ञा हरिहरेन्द्रेण हारगौरयशश्श्रिया ।
अकारयदसौ विद्वान् महादानानि षोडश ॥
हंपणार्यस्ततो जज्ञे सर्वविद्याविशारदः ।
वसिष्ठ इव धर्मेषु वेदव्यास इवापरः ॥
राज्ञा हरिहरेणापि देवरायेण भूभुजा ।
अकारयन्महादानान्यग्रहाराननेकशः ॥
तार्किको हंपणार्यस्य सूनुस्तर्केषु विश्रुतः ।

विद्यया विनयेनापि पूर्वाननुकरोति यः ॥
कारयन्नन्वहं धर्मान् देवरायमहीपतिं ।
आनन्दयन्निजगुणैरास्ते विनयविश्रुतैः ॥
राज्ञा विजयरायेण पित्रे दत्तममुं सुधीः ।
ग्रामन्तु चेट्टुपेडाख्यं विप्रेभ्योदात्स्वयं प्रभुः ॥

शकवर्ष १३४८ वर्तमान विश्वावसुसंवत्सरद कार्तिकशुद्धद्वादशीपुण्यकालदलु श्रीमत्सकलविद्याविशारद तार्किकहंपणैयगळ मक्कळु तार्किकअय्यगळु कोट्ट धर्मशासनक्रमवेंतेंदरे. नम्मतन्देगळु हंपणैयगळिगे विजयरायमहारायरु पडवीडुराज्यदलि सर्वमान्यद अग्रहारवागि दुर्मुखिसंवत्सरदलि कोट्ट चेट्टुपेडुयेंब ग्रामवन्नु नावु विश्वावसुसंवत्सरद कार्तिकशुद्ध द्वादशीपुण्यकालदलु सर्वमान्यवागि नानागोत्रद नानासूत्रद ब्राह्मरिगे वुद्दिष्टवागिधारयेनेरद हम्पणाचार्यपुत्रवेंबनामदलि अग्रहारवु इप्पत्तुनाल्कुवृत्तियागि कल्पिसि कोट्टेवागि आ वृत्तिमन्तब्राह्मरुगळ गोत्र सूत्र नामङ्गळविवर. गर्गगोत्रद आपस्तंबसूत्रद श्रीनिवासभरिगे हंपणैयेगळु धारयेनेरद हत्तु काणिगे वृत्ति २ एरडु. अवर मक्कळु नारायणभट्टरिगे वृत्ति १. वाधूलगोत्रद आपस्तंबसूत्रद रायीकोडु सोमयाजिगळिगे वृत्ति २. वत्सगोत्र आपस्तंबसूत्र सहस्रनामभट्टरिगे वृत्ति १. शाकटायनगोत्र आपस्तंबसूत्रद संनंबाडिय देवण्णगळिगे वृत्ति १. शठमर्षणगोत्रद आपस्तंबसूत्रद वरदनारायणभट्टरिगे वृत्ति १. द्वादशीपुण्यकालदलु धारेयनेरदु कोट्टद्दु आवरदनारायणभट्टरमग हस्तिगिरिनाथगे वृत्ति १. आगोत्र आसूत्रद देवप्पेरुमाळ्ळगे वृत्ति २ एरडु. वत्सगोत्रद आपस्तंबसूत्रद यज्वभारतिगे वृत्ति १. भारद्वाजगोत्रद आपस्तंबसूत्रद जेरामभट्टरिगे वृत्ति १. भारद्वाजगोत्रद आपस्तं-

बसूत्रद अनंतभट्टर वृत्ति १. वाधूलगोत्रद आपस्तंबसूत्रद नाराय-णभट्टर वृत्ति १. कुंडिनगोत्रद बोधायनसूत्रद श्रीधरभट्टर वृत्ति १ भारद्वाजगोत्रद आपस्तंबसूत्रद यादवगिरीश्वरगे वृत्ति १. आमूरिगोत्रद आपस्तंबसूत्रद सुब्रह्मण्यपंडितर वृत्ति १. वत्सगोत्र आपस्तंबसूत्रद भारदेवय्यगळिगे वृत्ति =. निध्रवकाश्यपगोत्र आपस्तंबसूत्र नारायणभट्टर वृत्ति ≥. आत्रेयगोत्र आपस्तंबसूत्र अनन्तभट्टर वृत्ति ≥. बाधूलगोत्र आपस्तंबसूत्र बाक्कपेरुमाल्लु वृत्ति =. वत्सगोत्र आपस्तंबसूत्र भूतिविष्णुभट्टगे वृत्ति =. गर्गगोत्र आपस्तंबसूत्र श्रीधरभट्टर वृत्ति १. आगोत्र आसूत्र तोलप्पगे वृत्ति =. आगोत्र आसूत्र भद्रनारायणभट्टर वृत्ति =. कुंडिनगोत्र आपस्तंबसूत्र नारायणगे वृत्ति =. आगोत्र आसूत्र तिरुवेंगडभट्टगे वृत्ति =. ओट्टु वृत्ति इप्पत्तुनाल्कु. वृत्ति ओंदक्के काणि हत्तु. ओट्टु इन्नूरनलवत्तु काणियागि माडिसल्पट्टितु. महामायाप्रीतियागि ईचेट्टुपेडेंब अग्रहारवन्नु अष्टभोगस्वाम्यसहितवागि सर्वमान्य अग्रहारवागि कोट्टेवागि सुखदिं भोगिसूदु.

॥ श्री विश्वपतये नमः ॥

Translation.

(*Sanskrit Text.*)

Salutation to the revered Gaṇādhipati!

There lived in the house of the king Bukka, *Śrīsiṁhasūri* of the Harita family, a man of renowned reputation; even the parrots which were in the cages at the doors of this house were fond of the sport of attempting to break the rules of all sciences. His renowned son *Viṣṇuyajvā* was like him eminent in the most divine qualities, a scholar in tarka, a commentator famous throughout the world. This wise man

caused sixteen great gifts to be made by the king *Hariharēndra*, the brilliant glory of whose fame was white like a necklace of pearls. From him was born *Hampaṇārya*, an expert in all sciences, like Vasiṣṭha, and in virtues like another Vyāsa.

He repeatedly caused to be made great grants and (presents of) villages by the king *Harihara* and the prince *Dēvarāya*. The son of Hampaṇārya, *Tārkika*, renowned in tarka, imitated his forefathers in wisdom and modesty. He is every day causing the king Dēvarāya to do righteousness, pleasing the king by his own virtues, which shine by modesty. Being its owner he gave to the Brāhmans this village Ceṭṭupēḍu, which had been given to his father by the king Vijayarāya.

Kanarese Text.

The deed of gift executed at the auspicious time of the 12th day of the bright fortnight in (the month of) Kārttika in the current year Viśvāvasu, which corresponds to the Śaka year 1348, by the logician, the famous Ayyagalu, the son of the logician Hampaṇaiya, who was versed in all the branches of learning, is as follows :—

In honor of the son of Hampaṇācārya, who has legalized the gift by pouring out water, we have converted into an Agrahāram, containing 24 Inām lands, the village of *Ceṭṭupēḍu* which had been granted by the Mahārāja Vijaya Rāya at the auspicious time of the 12th day of the bright fortnight in Kārttika, in the year Viśvāvasu, to our father Hampaṇaiya as a freehold village in the province of Paḍabīḍu, and we have handed over the same to Brāhmans belonging to various gōtras and different sūtras.

This is the description of the names, gōtras and sūtras of the Brāhmans holding these Inām lands.

2 Inām lands measuring ten kāṇis granted by *Hampaṇārya* to Śrīnivāsa of Gargagōtra and Āpastambasūtra.

1 Inām land measuring ten kāṇis granted by *Hampaṇārya* to *Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa*, one of their descendants.
2 ,, to *Rāyikōḍu Sōmayājī* of Vādhūlagōtra and Āpastambasūtra.
1 ,, to *Sahasranāmabhaṭṭa* of Vatsagōtra and Āpastambasūtra.
1 ,, to *Saṇṇambāḍi Dēvaṇṇa* of Śākaṭāyanagōtra and Āpastambasūtra.
1 ,, to *Varadanārāyaṇabhaṭṭa* of Śaṭhamarṣaṇagōtra and Āpastambasūtra.
1 ,, to *Hastigirinātha*, son of Varadanārāyaṇabhaṭṭa granted on the holy day of Dvādaśi.
2 ,, to *Dēvaperumāl* of the same gōtra and sūtra.
1 ,, to *Yajvabhārati* of Vatsagōtra and Āpastambasūtra.
1 ,, to *Jērāmabhaṭṭa* of Bhāradvājagōtra and Āpastambasūtra.
1 ,, to *Anantabhaṭṭa* of Bhāradvājagōtra and Āpastambasūtra.
1 ,, to *Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa* of Vādhūlagōtra and Āpastambasūtra.
1 ,, to *Śrīdharabhaṭṭa* of Kuṇḍinagōtra and Bōdhāyanasūtra.
1 ,, to *Yādavagirīśvara* of Bhāradvājagōtra and Āpastambasūtra.
1 ,, to *Subrahmaṇyapaṇḍita* of Āsūrigōtra and Āpastambasūtra.
½ ,, to *Bhāradēvayya* of Vatsagōtra and Āpastambasūtra.
¾ ,, to *Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa* of Nidhravakāśyapagōtra and Āpastambasūtra.
¾ ,, to *Anantabhaṭṭa* of Ātrēyagōtra and Āpastambasūtra.
½ ,, to *Bākkaperumāl* of Vādhūlagōtra and Āpastambasūtra.

½ Inām land measuring ten kāṇis granted by *Hampaṇārya* to *Bhūtiviṣṇubhaṭṭa* of Vatsagōtra and Āpastambasūtra.

1 „ to *Śrīdharabhaṭṭa* of Gargagōtra and Āpastambasūtra.

½ „ to *Tōj'appa* of the same gōtra and sūtra.

½ „ to *Bhadranārāyaṇabhaṭṭa* of the same gōtra and sūtra.

½ „ to *Nārāyaṇa* of Kuṇḍinagōtra and Āpastambasūtra.

½ „ to *Tiruvēṅgaḍabhaṭṭa* of the same gōtra and sūtra.

The number of Inām-lands is 24 in all, each containing ten kāṇis, the total made up being 240 kāṇis. The village of *Ceṭṭupēḍu* which, with its eight enjoyable possessions is granted as a freehold village in honor of Mahāmāyā, is to be enjoyed with pleasure.

Bow to Śrī Viśvapati.

Historical Remarks on the two Nāgarī Inscriptions and on the Line of Kings of Vijayanagaram.

The Telugu princely family which is mentioned in the two Nāgarī inscriptions is the Kuruba dynasty of Vijayanagaram, of which Saṅgama is the reputed ancestor, while its origin is traced to Yadu and eventually to Candra, the moon. In the inscriptions occur the names of *Saṅgama*, of *Bukka* and *Gaurāmbikā*, of *Harihara*, of *Pratāpadēvarāya* and *Hēmāmbikā*, of *Vijayarāya*, and of *Dēvarāya*. The name of *Dēvarāya* occurs twice in the text of the second śāsanam; but while the *Dēvarāya* mentioned in the first place appears to be identical with Pratāpadēvarāya, yet, where the same name occurs again, it must refer to another person, as Dēvarāya is called a reigning king nine years after Vijaya, the son of the above-mentioned Pratāpadēvarāya, had granted the first gift.

The first grant was executed on the 7th of the dark fort-

night of the month of Bhādrapada in the Durmukhi year, after the 1338th year of the Śaka had expired, or on Monday, the 14th of September 1416 A.D. (Old Style). In it the king Vijayarāya made over to *Hampaṇārya*, the son of *Tārkikācārya* (also called *Viṣṇuyajvā*), and grandson of the famous *Śrīsiṁhasūri*, a contemporary of King Bukka, the village of *Ceṭṭupēḍu* in Paḍavīḍu with its surroundings.

In the second inscription (which dates from the 12th of the bright fortnight of Kārttika, in the year Viśvāvasu, the 1348th of the Śaka,[1] or from Wednesday, the 24th of October 1425 A.D., Old Style) *Ayyalu* or *Tārkika*, the son of *Hampaṇārya*, gave Ceṭṭupēḍu, with its appurtenances, as freehold property to certain Brāhmans as specified.

Paḍabīḍu, or in its modern form *Haḷebīḍu*, was the old residence of the Hoysala kings. The country of *Paḍabīḍu* therefore refers to the realm formerly subject to the Ballāḷa kings. *Tagara* and *Āgara* are probably the Tagara in Koimbatore and the Āgara of Yelavandūr in Mysore. Some of the names of the other places are still found in their neighbourhood. Ceṭṭupēḍu would therefore lie in the mountainous tract south of the Kāvērī.

With respect to the lists of kings of Vijayanagaram, it must be admitted at once that a great confusion prevails. Manuscript records and inscriptions on stone or copper are often entirely at variance with each other. Under these circumstances it is extremely difficult to arrange satisfactorily, according to chronological order, the succession of these rulers. I trust that the Archæological survey lately instituted in this Presidency will obtain from the newly-collected inscriptions sufficiently trustworthy information to unveil the mystery which still covers this portion of Indian history.

[1] It ought to have been 1347; the figure 8 is most likely a mistake of the engraver. The year of the Bṛhaspati-cycle can be generally accepted as correct. *Padavidda* occurs in Rice's Mysore Inscriptions, p. 269. In old Kanarese *p* remains unchanged; *paḍa* corresponds to the Tamil̤ *paj'a* (பழ). *See* p. 217.

As the matter now stands lists of the kings of Vijayanagaram have been published by Horace Hayman Wilson both in his Descriptive Catalogue of the Mackenzie Collection[2] and in the 20th Volume of the Asiatic Researches,[3] by E. C. Ravenshaw in the same volume,[4] by A. C. Campbell in the introduction to his Telugu Grammar,[5] and by Dr. Buchanan in his Journey from Madras.[6] With these I have compared an original list composed towards the end of the seventeenth century by Kṛṣṇasvāmī Pillai,[7] the Karnum of Candragiri, and some other lists contained in the Local Records.

Though most of the lists taken from manuscript records give also the years of accession and termination of the different kings, yet much credit cannot be attached to these dates. Most of these lists have been prepared in comparatively recent times, and in consequence while they are pretty correct about more modern events, they otherwise often contain some manifest mistakes. The principal cause of the inaccuracy with respect to earlier dates seems to be the manner in which they were fixed. Starting from a comparatively modern date, the first year in the lists was found by subtracting gradually from this modern date the reputed length of the respective reigns of the different kings, and the initial date of the first reign, which ought to have been the *terminus a quo*, is thus the result of backward calculation or the *terminus ad quem*.[8] Otherwise it is impossible to account, *e.g.*, for the differences prevailing as to the

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[2] *See* Calcutta edition, 1828, pp. 292, 293.

[3] *See* Asiatic Researches, vol. XX, p. 7.

[4] *See ibidem*, Pedigree of the Kings of Vijayanagar, pp. 18, 19.

[5] *See* p. xii in the fourth edition.—Dr. Burnell appears to have, in his *Elements of South-Indian Palæography*, Second Edition, pp. 54, 55, closely followed Campbell's list.

[6] *See* A Journey from Madras through the Countries of Mysore, Canara, and Malabar, second edition, 1870, pp. 283-288 and p. 535.

[7] *See* Mahratta Kyfeat, No. 45.

[8] A similar practice was adopted in fixing the first year of the Dionysian Æra, as shown by me in my monograph on the origin of the Christian Æra : London, 1876.

year of accession of the first Bukka. Horace H. Wilson fixes it, according to manuscript records, at 1313 A.D. or 1235 Ś.Ś., the Kyfeat mentions 1236 Ś.Ś., Campbell gives 1272 Ś.Ś. or 1350 A.D., Buchanan dates it in one place[9] from 1295 Ś.Ś. or 1372-73 A.D., while in another place[10] it must be 1217 A.D., as, according to the text, 293 years have elapsed between 1510 A.D. and the accession of Bukka. This latter instance is a clear proof in favor of our conjecture respecting the mode of fixing the dates of the reigns, as the Permatur (properly *Śrī Perumbūdūr*) list contains no dates, but only gives the length of the reigns.

The inscriptions, on the other hand, fix the reign of Bukka between 1350-80.

Below we now arrange side by side, for the sake of comparison, some of the most important lists of the kings of Vijayanagaram :—

Names of Kings.	Length of Reign according to Buchanan.	Wilson.	Kyfeat.			Names of Kings.	Length of Reign according to Campbell.		
	YS.	YS.	YS.	M.	D.		YS.	M.	D.
Bukka	14	14	14	0	0	Harihara	14	0	0
Harihara[11]	14	14	14	0	0	Bukka	29	8	0
Vijaya	13	13	13	0	0	Harihara	22	0	0
Viśvadēva[12]	8	8	8	0	0	Vijaya Bukka ..	17	0	0
Rāmadēva	7	7	7	0	0	Palla Bukka ..	16	0	0
Virūpākṣa	5	5	5	0	0	Gaṇḍa Dēva ..	20	0	0
Mallikārjuna ..	7	7	7	0	0	Rājaśēkhara ..	0	9	0
Rāmacandra ..	9	9	9	0	0	Vijaya	0	10	0
Sāluvagaṇḍa I ..	14	7	9	0	0	Prauḍha or Pratāpa Dēva.	21	0	0
Dēvarāya	15	15	15	0	0				

[9] *See* vol. ii, p. 284.

[10] *See ibidem*, p. 535. Wilson's Descriptive Catalogue I, p. 289, remarks "The *Permatur* list makes the first date A.D. 1215."

[11] In Buchanan's list Vijaya is evidently by mistake placed before Harihara.

[12] Buchanan has *Casi Deva* ; Local Records, Vol. LI, p. 230, in the Mackenzie Collection reads Kassidēva (கச்சி தேவ), otherwise it agrees throughout with Wilson ; and the Kyfeat has *Gabhya Dēva.*

Names of Kings.	Length of Reign according to Buchanan.	Wilson.	Kyfeat.			Names of Kings.	Length of Reign according to Campbell.		
	YS.	YS.	YS.	M.	D.		YS.	M.	D.
Kambaya[13]	5	5	5	0	0	Vīra Rāya ..	4	0	0
Kumāra Kumbaya ..	4	4	4	0	0	Mallikārjuna ..	6	0	0
Sāluvagaṇḍa II ..	6	7	7	0	0	Rāmacandra ..	1	0	0
Sāluva Narasiṅga ..	40	49	49	0	0	Virūpākṣa ..	2	0	0
Immaḍi Dēva ..	11	11	11	0	0	Narasiṅga ..	5	0	0
Prauḍha Dēva[14] ..	30	..		..		Narasa	13	0	0
Rāmacandra.. ..	18	..		..		(of which five in			
Vaikuṇṭha	19	..		..		the name of his			
Dāmōdara	6	..		..		son)			
Narasiṅga	16	..		..		Vīra Narasiṅga ..	..		
Vīra Narasiṅga ..	11	21	21	0	0	Kṛṣṇa Rāya ..	21	0	0
Kṛṣṇa Rāya.. ..	21	20	20	3	8	Acyuta	12	0	0
Acyuta	13	13	12	6	4	(*Salka TimmaRāya*)			
Sadāśiva, or Rāma						Rāma Rāya ..	22	0	0
Rāja in his name..	22	22	22	1	12	*Interregnum* ..	5	0	0
Tirumala	8	8	8	0	0	Tirumala	0	11	0
Śrīraṅga I	14	14	13	5	0	Śrīraṅga	14	0	0
Veṅkaṭapati ..	29	29	28	10	0	Veṅkaṭapati ..	28	8	15
Śrīraṅga II	..	13	0	0	13	Cicka Rāya ..	0	4	0
Veṅkaṭarāja ..	..	8	8	8	0	Rāmarāya or Rāma-			
Rāmadēva	15	7	7	0	0	dēva	15	5	0
Ānegundi Veṅkaṭa-									
pati	12	12	12	0	0				
Śrīraṅga III ..	5	10	10	0	0				

Dr. Buchanan's list closes with the year 1646 A.D., Wilson's with 1665 A.D., the Kyfeat with 1574 Ś.Ś. or 1652-53 A.D., and Campbell with 1552 Ś.Ś. or 1630 A.D.

It remains for us now to complete these lists by adding to them extracts from other lists contained in Ravenshaw, Buchanan and the Local Records. The Śaka year indicates the commencement of each reign.

[13] Wilson has Kumbhaya, which is a name of Śiva, while Kambaya is supposed to be another appellation for Narasiṁha.

[14] These five reigns are omitted in the lists of Wilson and the Kyfeat, and this addition explains the abnormal length of Buchanan's list.

Lists of Kings according to					
Ravenshaw.[15]		Local Records XLVI. 64,65, 261, 262 and 265, 265.		Buchanan.[16]	
	Śaka.		Śaka.		Śaka.
Bukka Rāya ..	1256	Bukkanna	1258	Harihara	1273
Harihara Rao ..	1289	Harihara	1289	Buca	1295
Dēva Rao	1313	Prauḍha Dēva ..	1313	Harihara	1326
Vijaya Rao.. ..	1336	Vijaya Rāja ..	1336	Virapaksha Raya ..	1330
Pundara Deva Rau..	1346	Prauḍha Dēva ..	1346	Buca Raya	1331
Ramchandra Rao ..	1372	Rāmacandra ..	1372	Deva Raya and Rama Raya.	1338
Śrī Raṅga Rāja being king of Kalyānpatan, made war upon Ramchandra, and, deposing him, placed on the musnad his own brother		Virūpākṣa	1386	Virapaksha Raya ..	1349
Narasinha Rāja ..	1395	Narasiṁhā	1395	Deva Raya and Virapaksha Raya.	1377
Vīra Narasinha Rāja	1412	Vīra Narasiṁha dēva	1412	Maruppa Raya ..	1381
				Rama Raya and Virapaksha Raya.	1408
				Prouwuda Raya ..	1420
				Vira Narasingha Raya.	1430

From the inscriptions we obtain, according to Wilson,[17] the following results :—

1. Bukka (A.D. 1370–1381).
2. Harihara (A.D. 1385–1429).
3. Deva Raya (A.D. 1426–1458).
4. Mallikārjuna (A.D. 1451–1465).
5. Virūpāksha (A.D. 1473–1479).
6. Narasinha (A.D. 1487–1508).
7. Krishna (A.D. 1508–1530).
8. Achyuta (A.D. 1530–1542).
9. Sadāśiva (A.D. 1542–1570).
10. Rāma Rāja (A.D. 1547–1562).
11. Trimala (A.D. 1560–1571).
12. Sriranga (A.D. 1574–1584).
13. Venkatapati (A.D. 1587–1608).
14. Vīrarāma (A.D. 1622–1626).

The principal question now before us is whether we are able to adjust somewhat these discrepant statements. Following as authority our two śāsanams, we cannot but decide that in all probability the succession of the earlier kings was as follows: first Bukka [18] (this is not contradictory to Bukka having succeeded his elder brother Harihara), then Harihara, Pratāpadēva or Prauḍha Dēva, Vijaya, and Dēvarāya or Pratāparudra. The years of the śāsanams—1338 Ś.S. and 1348 Ś.Ś., or 1416 and 1425 A.D.—agree with those of the reigns of Vijaya and Dēvarāya according to the lists of Ravenshaw and of the Local Records.

[15] Asiatic Researches, vol. xx, pp. 18, 19. [16] *See* vol. ii, p. 284.
[17] *See* Asiatic Researches, vol. xx, p. 7.
[18] Bukka had four brothers—Harihara, Śambara, Mārāpaha and Muttappa.

After the reign of these Kuruba princes the power of this dynasty seems to have gradually decreased, the empire split into parts, and rival kings established an independent rule. All the information at our disposal points to such a state of anarchy prevailing at the end of the Kuruba power up to the time that the Tuluva prince Narasiṁha or Narasa obtained, through his statesmanship and bravery, the kingdom of Vijayanagaram.

In the first three lists, and especially in that of Buchanan,[19] some of those rival princes are given as successive rulers, while they should have figured as contemporaries.

On page 265 we see that to Śāluva Narasiṁha are ascribed 49 years by Wilson and by the compiler of the Kyfeat. It is very probable that he is identical with the Narasiṅga in Campbell's list, where he is only credited with 5 years. Considering that numerals which indicated months or days have been occasionally counted as years, as, *e.g.*, in the case of Śrīraṅga II, who ruled only 13 days instead of 13 years, it is not unlikely that instead of 49 years, 49 months or 4 years ought to be read. This reduction of 45 years would at once fix the year of Bukka's accession to about 1358 A.D. in concordance with the inscriptions. The accuracy or inaccuracy of these lists with respect to the other kings, their order of succession, and the time ascribed to their reigns remains an open question.

In the lists the name Sāluva is of frequent occurrence. I regard it as a mere title equivalent to *Vīra* or *Siṁha.* Vīrabhadra, the son of Śiva, defeated in the Śarabha avatāra Viṣṇu, who had assumed the shape of Narasiṁha. The fight took place near Śrīśaila in the Telugu country.[20]

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[19] *See* pp. 264, 265.

[20] A Śarabha or Sāluva, a fabulous creature with a human trunk, six feet, two lion faces each with two beaks, with arms and sidearms, and two wings, is often found in the escutcheons of Native princes.

Sālva is moreover the name of an Asura slain by Viṣṇu, it designates also a country and its inhabitants.

The Kurubas were at length succeeded by the dynasty founded by Narasiṁha. According to Ravenshaw the Narapati prince Śrīraṅgarāja of Kalyāṇa deposed Rāmacandra and installed his brother Narasiṁha on the throne of Vijayanagaram. This is no impossibility. Though our pedigree of the Narapatis does not contain a Śrīranga who had a brother Narasiṁha, there may have been existing a Śrīraṅga who had a near relation of this name. Our pedigree concerns more the family of Kōdaṇḍarāma, better known as Rāma Rāja, and the other branches of the Narapati dynasty are not so accurately given owing to the present defective state of our information.[21] On the other hand, if Narasiṁha, the founder of the new line of kings, was a scion of the Narapati family, a new light is thrown on the history of the later Rājas of Vijayanagaram. For this assumption of relationship, if true, explains to a great extent the influential position which the Narapati prince *Kōdaṇḍa Rāma* gained at a subsequent period in Ānēgundi.

According to the *Manucaritram* the Tuluva prince *Timmarāja* married Dēvakidēvi, and had by her a son *Īśvararāja* who married Bukkamāmbā.[22] In the Pārijātāpaharaṇam *Īśvararāja* is reported to have defeated the Yavanas of Beḍadakōṭa near Kandukūru. Īśvararāja and Bukkamāmba had two sons, *Narasiṁharāja*[23] and *Timmarāja*. The former

[21] It may perhaps have been Śrīraṅgarāja, the grandson of Tirumalarāja, the brother of Rāma Rāja. Narasiṁha is called the head of the Narapatis, and Kṛṣṇa Rāja is often mentioned as Narapati Kṛṣṇa Rāja. If the Rājas of Vijayanagaram did not possess previously to the accession of Narasiṁha the title *Narapati*, it is easily explained why they were afterwards called Narapatis, as they belonged to the family of the Narapatis.

[22] The Pārijātāpaharaṇam names Lakkāmba as the wife of Īśvararāja and Narasarāja as their son.

[23] In the lists occurs (p. 265) Immaḍi Dēva (or Immaḍi Dharma) between Narasiṁha (or Sāluva Narasiṁha) and Vīra Narasiṁha. As Narasiṁha, the father of Vīra Narasiṁha, is said to have reigned twice, at first for himself and the second time for a while for his son Vīra Narasiṁha, as *Immaḍi* (ఇమ్మడి) means twice, and as this word as well as *Mummaḍi* (ముమ్మడి), thrice, is used in names (*e.g.*, the Tātācāryas have the name *Immaḍi*, for they get twice *tāmbūlam* before other Brahmans when at the court of Rājas), I

captured Vidyāpura and resided eventually at Vijayanagaram. He had two wives; by his legitimate queen *Timmāmba* he had a son *Vīra Narsiṁharāja*, while by his other wife Nāgamāmba he became the father of the famous *Kṛṣṇa Rāja.*

The degree of relationship which existed between Kṛṣṇa Rāja, Acyuta Rāja, and Sadāśiva Rāja is not quite clear, the statements on this point being contradictory.

That some relationship besides connection by marriage existed between Kṛṣṇa Rāja and Sadāśiva Rāja on the one side and Rāmarāja on the other must be admitted. Though generally regarded as the son-in-law of Kṛṣṇa Rāja, he is often also called the son-in-law of Sadāśiva Rāja. At all events he reigned in the name of the latter, leaving him nothing but the name of sovereign. He is often described as the Aliya Rāma Rāja.[24] After his death his brother Tirumala Rāja established himself at Penugoṇḍa, leaving the throne eventually to his son Śrīraṅga Rāja. Veṅkaṭapati Rāja succeeded in firmly establishing for some years his power in Penugoṇḍa, Candragiri and its neighbourhood, but he never recovered the influence of the former kings of Vijayanagaram.

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believe that this word *Immaḍi* alludes to the second administration of Narasa, who may have kept up his own Tuluva court. On page 53 in the XLVII Volume of the Local Records the last Prauḍharāya of Vijayanagaram is called *Mummaḍi* Prauḍharāyalu (ముమ్మడి ప్రౌఢరాయలు), where the meaning of ముమ్మడి corresponds to that of ఇమ్మడి in Immaḍi Dēva.

[24] About Rāma Rāja see p.245,248. Compare *The Wars of the Rājas* by Charles Philip Brown, p. 3. "His (Krishna Rayalu's) wives were two, named Chinna Devi and Tirumala Devi. As they had only female children, Tirumala Devi's daughter was married to Rama Rayalu, and Chinna Devi's daughter was given in marriage to his younger brother Tirumala Rayalu. Then these ladies (the queens dowager) proposed to crown Rama Raya as 'Son-in-law Regnant,' (lit. they conferred the Aliyapattam; *Aliya* in Kannadi signifying a son-in-law)." In the Local Records, Vol. XLVII, p. 65, Kṛṣṇa Rāya's daughter is called Tirumalāmba, and her husband Aḻē Rāma Rāya. (ఇతని కొమార్తె తిరుమలాంబ. యీతిరుమలాంబ పెనిమిటి అళే రామ రాయలు) Aḻē corresponds to the Telugu alluḍu (అల్లుడు). One of the wives of Kṛṣṇa Rāja was the daughter of the Rāja of Kaṭak.

After him the decline became more marked, till the princes at Candragiri succumbed to the king of Golgonda.

The present chief of the Narapati family is the Pālegār of Ānēgundi *Narasiṁha Rāya*, a great-grandson of *Tirumala Rāya*, to whom *from motives of humanity and policy and not as a matter of right* was granted a pension in 1801, which in 1807 was fixed at Rs. 1,377-11-4 per mensem.[25]

The following succession list will, on the whole, be correct:—

	A.D.	Y.	M.	D.
Vīra Narasiṁha	1488–1509	21	0	0
Kṛṣṇa	1509–1530	20	3	8
Acyuta	1530–1542	12	6	4
Sadāśiva,[26] in his name reigns Rāma Rāja.	1542–1564	21	1	12
Tirumala, Rāma's brother.. ..	1564–1572	8	0	0

[25] Ravenshaw gives in the Asiatic Researches, vol. xx, p. 19, the successors of Śrī Raṅga Rao, but his account is evidently not quite correct. These successors are "Venkatapati, Rāma Rao, Haridās (1693), Chak Dās (his brother) 1704, Chinna Dās (1721), Rāma Raya (1734), Gopāl Rao, son of Chak Dās, Venkatapati (1741), Trimala Rao (1756), Vira Venkatapati Rāma Rāya, 31st May 1829." The *Local Records*, Vol. XLVII, pp. 66, 67, mention as Śrīraṅgarāja's successors Veṅkaṭapati, Rāma Rāya, Tirumala, his son Rāma Rāya, his son Gōpāla Rāya, his son Vīra Veṅkaṭapati Rāya, Veṅgaṇayya, Cinnarāya, Rāma Rāya, Cinnadāsarāya, Hirēdāsarāya and Rāma Rāya.

Ravenshaw says that Vīra Venkatapaṭi Rama Rāya died a minor on the 31st May 1829, "and there being no heir, the *jāgīr*, I understand, has lapsed to the Nizam's Government, and the pension of 1,500 rupees per mensem to the Company." According to the Proceedings of the Madras Government, Revenue Department, 19th November 1872, Tirumala Rāya, the father of Vīra Veṅkaṭapati, died in 1824 and the latter died unmarried in 1831. At the time of his death no male descendant of Tirumala Rāya, it seems, existed, but Tirumala Rāya's elder son, who had died before his father, had left a daughter, and this daughter had a son Tirumala Dēvarāyalu, who eventually succeeded. His two sons Veṅkaṭarāma Rāyalu and Kṛṣṇa Dēvarāyalu succeeded him respectively in 1866 and 1871. The latter died childless in 1872, and was succeeded by his cousin Narasiṁha Rāya, the son of Lakṣmī Dēvamma, the sister of his father Tirumala Dēvarāyalu.

I am indebted for this information to the kindness of the Hon. D. F. Carmichael, Senior Member of the Madras Council.

[26] In Campbell's list Sadāśiva's name is omitted, and Salka Timma Rāya mentioned as the immediate successor of Acyuta. He was the uncle, *e.g.*, the *Salka* (see p. 234), of the young prince and usurped for a time the throne.

		A.D.	Y.	M.	D.
Śrīraṅga I, Tirumala's son	..	1572–1585	13	5	0
Veṅkaṭapati	..	1585–1615	28	10	0
Śrīraṅga II[27]	..	1615	0	0	13
Veṅkaṭapati	..	1615–1624	8	8	0
Rāmadēva	..	1624–1631	7	0	0
Ānēgundi Veṅkaṭapati[28] ..	..	1631–1643	12	0	0
Śrīrāṅga[28]	..	1653			

It is this Śrīraṅga who in 1639 granted to Mr. Francis Day, the English negotiator, the settlement at Madras. He must have been therefore already at that time the reigning Rāja in Candragiri.[28] After his overthrow the Narapatis retained only Ānēgundi, but the subsequent history of the Narapati princes is of no general interest.

The genealogical table which accompanies this article shows only the pedigree of the Narapatis up to about 1564 as contained in the Narapativijayam.

Appendix.

In all the South Indian inscriptions and manuscript records which refer to historical events the dates are generally specified by the current years of the cycle of Bṛhaspati, by the years of the Śālivāhana Śaka, by the years of the Kaliyuga, or by other eras in use in various parts of the country. The three first computations are the most important, and it is therefore quite *à propos* of this investigation that something may here be stated about them.

Though the Bṛhaspati cycle was probably introduced into India later than the other two eras, it has in the last 900 years taken such a hold on the mind of the Hindus that nearly all their computations contain the years of this cycle. It is learnt by heart by children and not forgotten by them during their lifetime. Wherever, therefore, the year of the cycle disagrees with the year of either the Śaka or the Kali-

[27] Wilson gives thirteen years instead of thirteen days to Śrī Raṅga II.

[28] I am doubtful whether Ānēgundi Veṅkaṭapati and Śrī Raṅga did not rule at the same time. Nārāyaṇavana is given as Ānēgundi Veṅkaṭapati's place of residence, it is therefore very probable that during his reign Śrī Raṅga resided already at Candragiri.

yuga, preference ought to be given to the former. In most inscriptions and deeds the expired year (*gatābda*) of Śālivāhana or of the Kaliyuga is given simultaneously with the current year of the cycle of Bṛhaspati. As these three years of the Bṛhaspati cycle, of Śālivāhana, and of the Kaliyuga coincide practically in their duration, their computation seems to be very easy; but the peculiar habit indicated has been the cause of many errors. An example will enable the reader to readily understand this mode of reckoning. The present year, 1882-3, corresponds to Citrabhānu, 1805 Śaka, 4984 Kaliyuga, but in inscriptions and documents it is called 1804 Śaka, 4983 Kaliyuga. A Prussian document would afford an analogous instance if in it this year 1882 were designated as 1881 A.D., the 23 of Wilhelm I (the present king succeeding to the throne early in January 1860); 1881 A.D. taking the place of the year of the Śaka, and 23 the number of the year in the sixty years' cycle.

Colonel Warren has fully explained in his work *Kālasaṅkalita*[29] the intricacies of Indian chronology, which he had thoroughly mastered. In his chronological tables which he published in his work he printed at the head of the columns containing the eras of the Kaliyuga and Śālivāhana the word expired, intimating by this way the custom which the Hindus followed of writing down the expired year and not the current.

It was very unfortunate that Colonel Warren adopted this method, which was not necessary, as a note intimating the custom would have answered the purpose as well. For by this arrangement years which are not synchronous with each other may be mistaken as such. If the current Śaka and Kaliyuga years had been printed together with the Bṛhaspati years, an attentive reader would have quickly deducted one year from the current Śaka or Kaliyuga year in order to

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[29] A Collection of Memoirs on the various modes according to which the Nations of the southern parts of India divide Time. By Lieutenant-Colonel John Warren: Madras, 1825.

verify the correctness of the date of the inscription. A peculiar mode of notation, however widely spread, should never be made a cause for distorting actual facts.

Unluckily, in this case Warren's well-meant but injudicious caution was to a certain extent the cause of all the inaccuracies to be met with in subsequent works on Indian chronology and history, some of which were published with the intention of rectifying dates.

For Prinsep, who followed in the footsteps of Warren, though well aware of this peculiarity,[30] omitted to reprint the word *expired* at the head of the columns containing the years of the Kaliyuga and the Śaka. Moreover, Prinsep's note on this subject is not accurate throughout, as we read in it :—

"It should be borne in mind, that the natives, in speaking or writing a date in simple years, always express the number of years *expired*, not the current year, as is the custom in Europe. When they mention the month, therefore, they mean the month of the following current year ; but as the numerical denomination of the Hindū year remains unchanged throughout it, no thought need be taken of the distinction of *expired* years unless where a calculation has to be made from an initial epoch. In common parlance they may be treated like the current years of any other system, as being more consonant with our ideas, and less liable to cause mistakes in transferring dates to and fro."

Wherever the Bṛhaspati cycle is in use, the month given belongs to the year of that cycle, and not to the Śaka or Kaliyuga year. As a matter of fact the Hindus use in common life always the current year, and seem only to deviate from this custom when adding to it the expired Śaka and Kaliyuga year, which, being a matter of the past, is represented by a cardinal and not by an ordinal numeral. In the same manner a person when asked how old he is, uses either the cardinal numeral when stating the exact number of years he has already lived (*e.g.*, I am twenty years old), or he employs the ordinal, saying : I am in my twenty-first year.

[30] *See* James Prinsep's *Useful Tables*, edited by Edward Thomas, pp. 163, 179, 180 and 201–212.

How Prinsep could say "no thought need be taken of the distinction of *expired* years" seems rather peculiar when it becomes known that all those who adopted his lists in the belief that they represented the actuals mistook the expired for current years, and, representing them as such in their writings, perpetrated an error which is still prevailing. This incorrectness disfigures C. P. Brown's Cyclic Tables and Ephemerides; it pervades the Chronology of Cowasjee Patell; and it is to our regret even to be met with in the Chronological Tables lately published in Madras.

As, moreover, the spelling in most cases is erroneous, the sixty years of the Bṛhaspati cycle will be printed below (the Sanskrit name being printed in its undeclentional form in Roman characters, the South-Indian vernacular in Italic letters), together with the corresponding Śaka and Kaliyuga year, our common era following at the end.

Name of the Year.	Year of the Śālivāhana Śaka.	Year of the Kaliyuga.	Year A.D.
1. Prabhava (*Prabhava*)	1790	4969	1867-1868
2. Vibhava (*Vibhava*)	1791	4970	1868-1869
3. Śukla (*Śukla*)	1792	4971	1869-1870
4. Pramōda (*Pramōdūta*)	1793	4972	1870-1871
5. Prajāpati (*Prajōtpatti*)	1794	4973	1871-1872
6. Aṅgiras (*Āṅgirasa*)	1795	4974	1872-1873
7. Śrīmukha (*Śrīmukha*)	1796	4975	1873-1874
8. Bhāva (*Bhāva*, seldom *Bhava*) ..	1797	4976	1874-1875
9. Yuvan [31] (*Yuva*)	1798	4977	1875-1876
10. Dhātṛ [32] (*Dhātu*)	1799	4978	1876-1877
11. Īśvara (*Īśvara*)	1800	4979	1877-1878
12. Bahudhānya (*Bahudhānya*) ..	1801	4980	1878-1879
13. Pramāthin [33] (*Pramāthi*) ..	1802	4981	1879-1880
14. Vikrama (*Vikrama*)	1803	4982	1880-1881
15. Vṛṣa (*Vṛṣa* or *Viṣu*)	1804	4983	1881-1882
16. Citrabhānu (*Citrabhānu*) ..	1805	4984	1882-1883
17. Subhānu *or* Svabhānu (*Subhānu*).	1806	4985	1883-1884

[31] Nom. sing. *Yuvā*. [32] Nom. sing. *Dhātā*.

[33] Nom. sing. *Pramāthī*. All the nouns in *in* take the nom. sing. in *ī*.

Name of the Year.	Year of the Śāli-vāhana Śaka.	Year of the Kali-yuga.	Year A.D.
18. Tāraṇa (*Tāraṇa*)	1807	4986	1884–1885
19. Pārthiva (*Pārthiva*)	1808	4987	1885-1886
20. Vyaya (*Vyaya*)	1809	4988	1886-1887
21. Sarvajit (*Sarvajit*)	1810	4989	1887–1888
22. Sarvadhārin [33] (*Sarvadhāri*) ..	1811	4990	1888-1889
23. Virōdhin [33] (*Virōdhi*)	1812	4991	1889-1890
24. Vikṛti *or* -ta (*Vikṛti*)	1813	4992	1890–1891
25. Khara (*Khara*)	1814	4993	1891-1892
26. Nandana (*Nandana*)	1815	4994	1892-1893
27. Vijaya (*Vijaya*)	1816	4995	1893–1894
28. Jaya (*Jaya*)	1817	4996	1894-1895
29. Manmatha (*Manmatha*)	1818	4997	1895-1896
30. Durmukha (*Durmukhi*)	1819	4998	1896-1897
31. Hēmalamba *or* -bin[33] (*Hēvilambi*).	1820	4999	1897-1898
32. Vilamba *or* -bin [33] (*Vilambi*) ..	1821	5000	1898-1899
33. Vikārin [33] (*Vikāri*)	1822	5001	1899-1900
34. Śārvarin [33] (*Śārvari*)	1823	5002	1900-1901
35. Plava (*Plava*)	1824	5003	1901-1902
36. Śubhakṛt (*Śubhakṛt*)	1825	5004	1902-1903
37. Śōbhana or Śōbhakṛt (*Śōbhana* or *Śōbhakṛt*).	1826	5005	1903-1904
38. Krōdhin [33] (*Krōdhi*)	1827	5006	1904-1905
39. Viśvāvasu (*Viśvāvasu*)	1828	5007	1905–1906
40. Parābhava (*Parābhava*)	1829	5008	1906-1907
41. Plavaṅga (*Plavaṅga*)	1830	5009	1907–1908
42. Kīlaka (*Kīlaka*)	1831	5010	1908–1909
43. Saumya (*Saumya*)	1832	5011	1909–1910
44. Sādhāraṇa (*Sādhāraṇa*)	1833	5012	1910–1911
45. Virōdhakṛt *or* -dhikṛt (*Virōdhikṛt*)	1834	5013	1911-1912
46. Parīdhāvin [33] (*Parīdhāvi* or *Parīdhāpi*).	1835	5014	1912-1913.
47. Pramādin [33] (*Pramādīca*) ..	1836	5015	1913-1914
48. Ānanda (*Ānanda*)	1837	5016	1914-1915
49. Rākṣasa (*Rākṣasa*)	1838	5017	1915-1916
50. Anala *or* Nala (*Nala*)	1839	5018	1916-1917
51. Piṅgala (*Piṅgala*)	1840	5019	1917-1918

[33] Nom. sing. *Pramāthī*. All the nouns in *in* take the nom. sing. in ī.

Name of the Year.	Year of the Śāli-vāhana Śaka.	Year of the Kali-yuga.	Year A.D.
52. Kālayukti *or* -ta (*Kālayukti*) ..	1841	5020	1918-1919
53. Siddhārtha *or* -thin[33] (*Siddhārthi*)	1842	5021	1919-1920
54. Raudra (*Raudri*)	1843	5022	1920-1921
55. Durmati (*Durmati*)	1844	5023	1921-1922
56. Dundubhi (*Dundubhi*)	1845	5024	1922-1923
57. Rudhirōdgārin [33] (*Rudhirōdgāri*).	1846	5025	1923-1924
58. Raktākṣa *or* -kṣi *or* -kṣin [33] (*Raktākṣi*).	1847	5026	1924-1925
59. Krōdhana (*Krōdhana*)	1848	5027	1925-1926
60. Kṣaya (*Akṣaya*)	1849	5028	1926-1927

These names seem to be of considerable antiquity. They are all mentioned in the 8th chapter of the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, and being well known are probably not enumerated in the *Sūryasiddhānta*. The names in current use in Southern India have most likely been derived from the following verses ascribed in Kamalākara's *Nirṇayasindhu* to the ancient astronomer Gārgya.

Prabhavō Vibhavaś Śuklaḥ Pramōdō'tha Prajāpatiḥ
Aṅgirāś Śrīmukhō Bhāvō Yuvā Dhātēśvarastathā
Bahudhānyaḥ Pramāthī ca Vikramō'tha Vṛṣastathā
Citrabhānus Subhānuś ca Tāraṇaḥ Pārthivō Vyayaḥ
Sarvajit Sarvadhārī ca Virōdhī Vikṛtiḥ Kharaḥ
Nandanō Vijayaś caiva Jayō Manmathadurmukhau
Hēmalambō Vilambō'tha Vikārī Śarvarī Plavaḥ
Śubhakṛcchōbhanaḥ Krōdhī Viśvāvasuparābhavau.
Plavaṅgaḥ Kīlakas Saumyas Sādhāraṇō Virōdhakṛt
Parīdhāvī Pramādī ca Ānando Rākṣasō'nalaḥ
Piṅgalaḥ Kālayuktaś ca Siddhārthī Raudradurmatī
Dundubhī Rudhirōdgārī Raktākṣiḥ Krōdhanaḥ Kṣayaḥ.[34]

[33] Nom. sing. *Pramāthī*. All the nouns in *in* take the nom. sing. in *ī*.

[34] With respect to the names compare also *Agnipurāṇa*, Chapter 139, the *Jyōtiṣaratnamālā* and other similar works. *Dr. Burnell*, in the second edition of his *Elements of South Indian Palæography*, when referring to the list of the years of the cycle of Bṛhaspati, remarks as follows: "This list is not to be found in the Sanskrit treatises" (page 73, note 4), and "This list is compiled from Colonel Warren's Kala Sankalita, Mr. C. P. Brown's cyclic tables, inscriptions and the practice of the people of Southern India. I am not aware that any old list exists" (page 74, note 2).—Another MS. reads in line 4 Svabhānuśca, in line 5 Vikṛtaḥ, in line 7 Hēmalambī, in line 9 Virōdhikṛt, and in line 11 Kālayuktiśca Siddhārthō Raudridurmatī.

GENEALOGICAL TREE OF THE NARAPATIS.

From Nārāyaṇa, Brahma, Atri, Candra, Budha, Purūravas, Âyu, Nahuṣa, Yayāti, Puru, &c., are descended the Bhāratas, and as the 83rd in descent from Arjuna is given in the Narapativijayam *Nanda*, his 9th descendant is *Cālukya* and from him is descended Vijala or Bijjala of Kalyāṇa. His grandson is Vīra Hemmāḷirāya; Hemmāḷirāya's son is Tātapinna. The pedigree from Tātapinna to Bukka's son is the same in the Bālabhāgavatam, Vasucaritam, Narasabhūpālīyam, and Narapativijayam. The Bālabhāgavatam alone contains the names of the 4 sons of Timmarāja, while only the Narapativijayam gives the later descendants of his cousin Rāmarāja. The Vasucaritram, Narasabhūpālīyam as well as the Narapativijayam contain an account of the family of Tirumala, the brother of Rāmarāja. All these different works agree in all essential points.

- *Vijala* of Kalyāṇa.
  - (*Name unknown.*)
    - *Hemmāḷirāya.*
      - Tātapinna.
        - Sōmadēva.
          - Rāghavadēva.
            - Pinnamarāja (Pinnaśauri).
              - (*Ārvīṭi*) Bukkarāja.
                - Siṅgarāja.
                  - Timmarāja.
                    - Tirumala.[1]
                    - Viṭhala.
                    - Cinnatimma.
                    - Pāpatimma.
                  - Koṇḍarāja.
                  - Śrīraṅgarāja.
                    - Kōna.
                    - Timma.
                    - Rāmarāja, son-in-law[2] of Kṛṣṇarāja.
                      - Kṛṣṇa.
                      - Pedatimma.
                      - Koṇḍa.
                        - Rāma.
                      - Cinatimma.
                      - Śrīraṅga.
                        - Pedaveṅkaṭa.
                        - Cinaveṅkaṭa.
                          - Tirumala.
                          - Veṅkaṭa.
                            - Kōdaṇḍarāma,[5] son-in-law of Kṛṣṇarāja.
                              - Pedaveṅkaṭa.
                              - Cinaveṅkaṭa.
                              - Kōdaṇḍarāma.
                              - Veṅkaṭa.
                            - Timma.
                              - Śrīraṅga.
                              - Cinaveṅkaṭa.
                            - Veṅkaṭa.
                          - Śrīraṅga (adopted by Gōpāla.)
                    - Tirumala.[3]
                      - Raghunātha.
                      - Śrīraṅga.
                      - Rāma.
                        - Tirumala.
                        - Śrīraṅgacikkarāja.
                          - Rāmadēva.
                      - Veṅkaṭa.
                    - Veṅkaṭa.
                      - Rāma.
                      - Śrīraṅga.
                        - Veṅkaṭa.
                        - Gōpāla (adopts Śrīraṅga).
                    - Lakkāmba d. marries Aupala.
                - Rāmarāja.

- (Sūryavaṁśa.)
  - Kalikālacōḷavibhu, *from him is descended.*
    - Pōcirāja.
      - Tirumala.
        - Vallabha.
          - Timma.
            - Aupala (marries Lakkāmba).
              - Narasarāja,[4] (reigns at Toragallu.)
                - Śrīraṅga.

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[1] The Tirumala to whom is dedicated the Bālabhāgavatam of Kōnērinātha.
[2] The patron of Rāmarājabhūṣana commonly called Bhaṭṭa Mūrti.
[3] The Tirumala to whom is dedicated the Vasucaritram of Rāmarājabhūṣaṇa commonly called Bhaṭṭa Mūrti.
[4] The Narasa to whom is dedicated the Narasabhūpālīyam of Śāradamūrti commonly called Bhaṭṭa Mūrti.
[5] The Rāmarāja who was defeated at Tālikōṭa in 1564 A.D., and who was up to now regarded as a patron of Bhaṭṭa Mūrti, the reputed author of the Vasucaritram and Narasabhūpālīyam.

TRANSLITERATION OF SANSKRIT AND DRAVIDIAN WORDS.

Gutturals ..	.. k,	kh,	g,	gh,	ṅ,	ḥ,	h,	a,	ā.			
Palatals ..	.. c,	ch,	j,	jh,	ñ,	ś,	y,	i,	ī,	e,	ē,	ai.
Linguals ..	.. ṭ,	ṭh,	ḍ,	ḍh,	ṇ,	ṣ,	r(r̤),	ṛ,	ṝ.			
Dentals ..	.. t,	th,	d,	dh,	n,	s,	l(l̤),	ḷ.				
Labials ..	.. p,	ph,	b,	bh,	m,	ḥ,	v,	u,	ū,	o,	ō,	au.
Anusvāra ..	.. ṁ.											

Short *e* and *o*, as well as r̤ and l̤, occur only in Dravidian words.

Gustav Oppert.

V.

SKETCH OF THE WORK OF THE GEOLOGICAL SURVEY IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

It is proposed to give in the following pages a brief sketch of the work done by the members of the Geological Survey in Southern India and to draw attention to the more important points of interest, whether practical or purely scientific, concerning the several geological formations met with. It is desirable that this should be done, as a good deal of misapprehension and positive ignorance exists with regard to both the nature and extent of the work accomplished. This is perhaps not much to be wondered at, seeing how very little geological science is cultivated in Southern India. The great interest excited by the gold-mining speculations set on foot within the last few years would, it might have been expected, have drawn general attention to the numerous publications of the geological surveyors treating on many parts of the Madras Presidency and adjoining districts of the Nizam's State and the southern collectorates of the Bombay Presidency; but it has only done so very partially.

Geological surveys have been established in every country with a civilized Government for the collection of reliable data as to the real mineral status of the country for the information of the Government and the general public. Most of these data are best represented in maps giving the ground plan of the various formations exposed, which are distinguished by different colors. With the addition of a few conventional symbols such a geological map shows at a glance facts which it may have required months or years of laborious

fieldwork to collect. No amount of word painting, however excellently done, will convey a clear idea of an unseen landscape, but a sketch, even though a rough one, immediately conveys a distinct idea and enables the spectator to realize in great measure what he vainly strove to do before. The geological map is the sketch supplying the distinct idea of the structure of the country and of the relative geographical distribution of the mineral wealth it may happen to contain. The preparation of a general geological map of a new, or little known, country is therefore the second great object of a geological survey, the first being of course the discovery of new deposits of valuable mineral. This first object is one that may be attained fully or partially, or not at all, according to the peculiarity of the country traversed; (hunting for minerals will not cause them to appear where nature has not placed them), but the second object is one that can always be attained if sufficient time be allowed for the ground to be gone over.

The time that should be allowed cannot be calculated closely beforehand ; there are so many factors to be considered, *e.g.*, the size and accessibility of the country under survey, the complexity or simplicity of the geological structure, the scale of the survey, the amount of detail to be given, the number of surveyors you can place upon the work, the length of season during which fieldwork can be carried on, favorable and unfavorable seasons, and last but not least, in tropical countries especially, the sickness or health of the men engaged. These different factors vary so exceedingly in different parts of a vast country like India that it is extremely difficult to make even a guess how long it will take to finish a large and diversified tract of country. Many difficulties that formerly beset the surveyor have been overcome by the extension of railways and good roads; while new and reliable maps and the very valuable information contained in the new District Manuals are also of great assistance.

For the systematic geology of India the reader is referred to the Manual of the Geology of India—a masterly *resumé* of all that was known of the geological structure of the country up to 1879.[1] The third volume[2] of this great work, treating of the economic section of the subject, has also just appeared, and as a whole, the work is one highly to be commended to every lover or student of geology in India. He will find these volumes a rich treasure-house of facts well marshalled and ably discussed in all their bearings on the geological theories that have been started in solution of difficult points, whether of specially Indian or of general interest. These three noble and richly-illustrated volumes may, without fear of contradiction, be pointed to as the cheapest books ever published in India, or (as far as the writer is aware) anywhere else. Both typographically and pictorially they reflect great credit on all concerned in their publication.

The systematic survey of the geological features of India began practically with the appointment of the late Dr. T. Oldham in March 1851, the previous labors of Dr. Voysey, Mr. A. H. Williams, and Dr. McClelland having been quite local and desultory. Much too of Dr. Oldham's work in the earlier years after his appointment was necessarily desultory, as he was called upon to visit and describe different and disconnected regions. It was not till after the arrival of Lord Canning, who took a warm interest in the geological investigation of India, that Dr. Oldham and the band of young geologists he had obtained from Europe were placed in a position to enter upon the systematic examination

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[1] A Manual of the Geology of India by H. B. Medlicott, M.A., Superintendent, and W. T. Blanford, A.R.S.M., F.R.S., Deputy Superintendent, Geological Survey of India, Calcutta, 1879. Parts i and ii, with 2 maps and 21 plates, pp. lxxx and 887. Price Rs. 8.

[2] Manual of the Geology of India, part iii, Economic Geology by V. Ball, Officiating Deputy Superintendent, Geological Survey of India, Calcutta, 1881. 6 maps and 10 plates, pp. xx and 663. Price Rs. 5.

of the vast country, by far the greater part of which was geologically a *terra incognita.*

The survey of the Madras Presidency was taken up early in 1857, when Mr. H. F. Blanford was deputed with Messrs. C. Æ. Oldham, W. King, and H. Geoghegan [3] to examine *imprimis* the cretaceous rocks known to exist in Trichinopoly and South Arcot, in order to obtain, if possible, a fixed geological and palæontological horizon, a datum level as it were, to which to refer the various sedimentary rocks that might be met with as the survey progressed. When the Madras party of the Geological Survey entered upon its work, the amount of geological information they found ready to hand concerning Southern India was considerable, but much of it was of little or no value. A number of writers had, it is true, given their views to the public, but most of them related only to very circumscribed tracts, or if like the geological summaries of Calder, Newbold, and Carter [4] they treated of the general geological structure of the peninsula, they were necessarily mere outlines of the subject, many large tracts of country being quite unknown to geologists and others known only by rapid traverses. No tract of any size had been mapped or examined closely and systematically. Greenough's Geological Map of India, the only one which had then appeared, though worthy of much praise as a most laborious compilation, was of little practical use, as it abounded in serious errors both geological and geographical. The most important and extensive series of geological facts then known was that contained in Captain Newbold's [5] Summary—a very able work

[3] Mr. Geoghegan died of sunstroke in 1858, and his place was taken by the author.

[4] Published respectively in 1833 Asiatic Researches, vol. xviii, 1844-50; Journal, Royal Asiatic Society, vols. viii, ix, and xii, and 1854; Journals Bombay Royal Asiatic Society, vol. v, and reprinted in Geological Paper, on Western India in 1857.

[5] Captain Newbold was attached to the Quartermaster-General's Department of the Madras Army.

deserving of much more attention than it afterwards received. Many of Newbold's most important deductions were the result of his personal observations over extensive areas which he traversed during his frequent official journeys.

The work of other original observers will be referred to in the sequel when dealing with the geological formations they described.

Shortly [6] after the commencement of the geological survey in Madras, Mr. H. F. Blanford had to proceed to the Nīl-giris on account of his health, and while there occupied himself in surveying the plateau of that interesting mountain mass. The immediate result of this was to show the fallacy of a view held by Captain Newbold as well as many others at that time and still later, namely that each of the mountain plateaus and ridges contained a great irrupted nucleus of granitic rocks. Subsequent researches have shown that such granitic nuclei have no existence anywhere in Southern India, and that the metamorphic rocks (the hypogene rocks of Newbold) have not been greatly broken up and dislocated by intrusions of granite, to which the present outlines of the country were supposed to be largely due. The existing outlines are almost entirely due to atmospheric erosion acting over vast periods of time, the gneissic highlands of the south of the peninsula being one of the oldest known portions of *terra firma.*

The cretaceous rocks, with the examination of which the survey of South India began, were discovered in 1840 by Mr. Kaye, of the Madras Civil Service. A large collection of fossils was made by him and Mr. Brooke Cunliffe, M.C.S., and submitted to the eminent palæontologist, Prof. Edward Forbes, who described and figured many new forms in a very

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[6] Mr. H. F. Blanford's Memoir on the Nīlgiris appeared in 1859 in vol. i. of the Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India.

interesting monograph, in which he referred the Trichinopoly and Vriddhāchalam beds to the age of the upper green sand or gault, and the Pondicherry beds to the neocomian of European geologists. M. Alcide D'Orbigny, the distinguished French palæontologist, from an examination of a collection of fossils made near Pondicherry, arrived at a rather different conclusion, and regarded the rocks as of upper cretaceous age. The deductions of each of these eminent naturalists were justified by the materials they severally dealt with, but the subsequent examination by Dr. Stoliczka[7] of the whole of the superb collection of fossils collected by Mr. H. F. Blanford and his colleagues showed the age of the series expressed in English geological terms to range from the upper green sand to the upper chalk, or to use the continental nomenclature from the Cenomanian to the Senonian periods. Several seasons were devoted by Mr. H. F. Blanford to the close and critical examination of that most interesting region, and he embodied his results in an admirable memoir which appeared in 1863. Unfortunately no good maps on a sufficiently large scale existed on which to lay down the details of the very intricate and often very obscure and consequently difficult stratigraphal disposition of the beds; hence the map accompanying the memoir can only be regarded as a sketch showing the general features and representing very inadequately Mr. H. F. Blanford's elaborate mapping of the country. Mr. H. F. Blanford sub-divided the South Indian cretaceous rocks into three groups, the Arialur, Trichinopoly, and Utatur groups, to enumerate them in descending order. The cretaceous rocks as seen along their boundaries, rest upon the gneissic rocks generally, but here and there remains of an older series of sedimentary beds of lower Jurassic age crop

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[7] The first Palæontologist attached to the Geological Survey Department as special officer.

out between the base of the Utatur group and the gneiss. These will be referred to again later on.

The geographical distribution of these rocks is into three principal areas with three or four small outlying patches. The principal of these areas, known as the Trichinopoly area, lies between the Coleroon and the Vellaur, and is of very irregular shape, measuring about 25 miles in extreme length and width. The next, proceeding northward across the alluvial flat of the Vellār, is the Vriddhāchalam area, which extends 15 miles from south-south-west to north-north-east with a width of about 5 miles. Owing to extensive deposits of soil the cretaceous rocks are very poorly seen here. About 25 miles of alluvium, formed by the Gaddelam and Panār (Ponniar) rivers, intervenes between the Vriddhāchalam and Pondicherry cretaceous areas, which latter extends some 12 miles north-eastward with a width of about 6 miles. All three sub-divisions occur together only in the Trichinopoly area ; the Vriddhāchalam area is entirely occupied by rocks of the upper or Arialur group, while the Pondicherry area shows only the uppermost and lowest or Arialur and Utatur groups, the Trichinopoly group being unknown outside of the Trichinopoly area. The rocks of all the groups show many signs of having been deposited in a sea of shallow character, or of which the depth was but very moderate and the old coast line not far off. The Trichinopoly group especially shows markedly the littoral characters of deposits accumulated in shallow water.

The mineral character of the beds composing the lowest or Utatur group, so called after the large village of that name, on the old Madras-Trichinopoly road, is chiefly argillaceous, particularly in the southern part, but in the northern part limestones appear among the lower (western) beds, and sandstone grits and conglomerates among the upper ones which lie on the eastern side of the Utatur area, the general dip of the formations being easterly at very low angles. A note-

worthy set of limestones, once coral reefs, occurs at the very base of the group.

The Trichinopoly or middle group was, in the absence of any important or well-known locality within its area, called by Mr. H. F. Blanford after the district, beyond the limits of which it is not at present known to occur. In the southern part of the area the formations are principally irregularly bedded sands and clays with a small number of limestone beds, and conglomerates, these latter being characterized by the presence in large quantities of peculiar granite pebbles, not known in the Utatur conglomerates, which consist of gneiss or coral limestone pebbles. In the northern parts, near Alundanapuram and Garudamangalam, very remarkable beds of shelly limestone become intercalated in the lower part of the series, while further north still the series is made up of sands, sandy clays and shales in well-stratified beds, with which occur beds of shell limestone, calcareous grit and conglomerate. The shell limestone beds at Garudamangalam are quarried and yield the well-known Trichinopoly marble, an ornamental stone, the beauty of which would be far greater if it were polished after the European method. Uncut specimens often show great wealth of beautifully preserved marine shells of many species, which appear to have been originally accumulated by the local action of currents.

The Arialur group, the third or uppermost and most easterly sub-division of the South Indian cretaceous rocks, occupies the largest part of the Trichinopoly area; but, owing to the great development of cotton soil over the surface, is less well seen than the two underlying groups. It is called after the taluk town which stands within its area. Petrologically the group consists chiefly of white unfossiliferous sands and grey argillaceous sands, enclosing minute fossils, in the form of casts, calcareous grit beds and nodular calcareous shales occurring near the base of the group and again in the upper part. Those richly fossiliferous beds are separated by a

thick mass of nearly unfossiliferous rocks, one bed of which, however, yielded a tooth and other remains of a megalosaurus, one of the great extinct saurians characteristic of the mesozoic rocks of Europe.

Owing to the obscurity and irregularity of the bedding which prevail in most parts of all three sub-groups, Mr. H. F. Blanford found it impracticable to measure the thickness of the formations with any accuracy, but he estimated them roughly to average about 1,000 feet each.

The palæontological features of these cretaceous rocks are of the highest interest to the biologist, the fauna being a very rich one, and showing relationship not only with the other Indian cretaceous faunas as those of Assam and of Bagh in Central India, but also with those of the equivalent rocks in Arabia and South Africa, and with those of the yet far more distant cretaceous formations of Western Europe. The relationship between the South Indian and Khasi beds (Assam) is so great that it is thought very probable that the old Indian cretaceous sea covered both regions and gave rise also to the deposition of the cretaceous rocks found in the hill ranges, extending from Assam as far south as Arakan. Very remarkble also is the close relationship between this South Indian fauna and that of the cretaceous beds in Natal, where out of 35 species of mollusca and echinodermata no less than 22 were found to be identical with some of the commonest fossils known from Trichinopoly District.

Although geographically so much nearer to the South Indian cretaceous region than the Khasi hills deposits, the fauna of the cretaceous rocks of Bagh (in Central India) is but slightly allied to the first, and shows much greater affinity to that of the Arabian cretaceous series. These facts suggest many ideas as to the former distribution of the seas and lands which would certainly appear to have been widely different from what they now are, and this in despite of the views of Darwin and Wallace so strongly put in the latter author's

book on "Island Life" that the basins of the great oceans have ever continued much the same as they are now.

The vast collection of fossils made by Mr. H. F. Blanford, with the assistance of the colleagues before named, was examined and described mainly by Dr. Stoliczka, who dealt with all excepting the genera Belemnites and Nautilus. These two genera were treated of by Mr. H. F. Blanford himself and figured in the *Palæontologia Indica.* Dr. Stoliczka's detailed results were also given in four volumes of the *Palæontologia Indica,*[8] in which will be found full descriptions and figures of the very numerous species (nearly 800) of animals obtained during he survey of the Trichinopoly, Vriddhāchalam, and Pondicherry areas.

The type collection, which is now in the Indian Museum in Calcutta, was shown at Vienna during the great exhibition and called forth great admiration, while the publication of Dr. Stoliczka's investigations raised him to a very high place in scientific public opinion.

The most striking feature in the South Indian cretaceous fauna, and especially of the Utatur group, is the great number of cephalopoda, of which no less than 146 species were met with, most of them being species till then unknown to science. Of these 146 species of cephalopoda no fewer than 109 belong to the Utatur group and 95 are peculiar to it (in India). The Utatur group is also very rich in corals owing to the number of coral reefs occurring at the base of the group. The Trichinoploy group is poor in cephalopoda but rich in gasteropoda, and among them are various forms of the syphonostomata, the pioneers as it were of the great molluscan family, which in tertiary and recent times have assumed the role played by the carnivorous cephalopoda in earlier geological times. In the Arialur fauna, the richest of the three, the striking feature is the great development of the

[8] *Palæontologia Indica*, vols. i—iv. The Cretaceous Fauna, including series i, iii, v, vi and viii.

mollusca and more especially of the carnivorous types. The great family of the cephalopoda was on the wane, only a single species, *Nautilus Danicus*, specially characteristic of the uppermost cretaceous beds in Holland, North-Western Germany and Denmark, remained in the uppermost beds, while many very characteristic Mesozoic genera had disappeared, and one only (*Nerinœa*) survived.

Of the invertebrate organisms no less than 16·36 per cent. were shown by Dr. Stoliczka to occur in the cretaceous rocks of Europe. The difference between the faunas of the three groups is very great, the Utatur group having only 13 species out of 294, which recur in the overlying Trichinopoly group. The Trichinopoly group in its turn is rather less different from the younger Arialur group, as out of 186 species in the former 38 survived into the latter. Of the 365 species occurring in the Arialur group, 11 had occurred in the Utatur beds, but only 8 species ranged through the whole of the cretaceous series. Of these eight species, (1) *Nautilus Nuxleyanus*, (2) *Ammonites planulatus*, (3) *A. Menu*, (4) *Ampullina bulbiformis*, (5) *Gyrodes pansus*, (6) *Solariella radiatula*, (7) *Vola quinquecostata*, and (8) *Lucina* (*Myrtea*) *arcotina*, four, Nos. 2, 4, 6 and 7, are European forms.

The correlation of the three groups of the South Indian cretaceous rocks with their representatives in Europe is well shown in a table given by Dr. Stoliczka in the introduction to series viii of the *Palæontologia Indica* :—

South India.		England.	France.	Germany.
ARIALUR GROUP.	Zone of *Nautilus danicus* and *Ammonites Ootacodensis*, *Ostrea pectinata* and *O. angulata*, *Gryphœa vesicularis*, *Inoceramus Cripsii*, *Crania ignabergensis*.	Upper chalk.	Senonian.	Ober Quader.
TRICHINOPOLY GROUP.	Zone of *Ammonites peramplus*, *Pholadomya caudata*, *Modiola typica*, *Ostria diluviana*, *Rhynconella compressa*.	Lower chalk.	Turonian.	Mittel Quader.
UTATUR GROUP.	Zone of *Ammonites rostratus* and *rotomagensis*, *Inoceramus labiatus*, *Exogyra suborbiculata* (*Gryphœa columba*), and *Terebratula depressa*.	Chalk marl and upper green sand.	Cenomanian or Tourtia.	Unter Quader, Unterer Quader Sandstein and Unterer Planer.

It would be out of place here to give long lists of the fossils or to enter even briefly into the many very interesting biological facts elicited by the exhaustive examination of the cretaceous fauna which will be found in Dr. Stoliczka's admirable volumes to which the would-be student is referred, A very complete and appreciative analysis of Stoliczka's work written by Mr. W. T. Blanford, F.R.S., will be found in Chapter XII of the Manual of the Geology of India (vol. i., p. 266).

These South Indian cretaceous rocks are certainly by far the most interesting groups in the country, and with their great wealth of organic remains ought certainly to attract the attention of amateur geologists, a class which unfortunately is almost without representatives in India. Closely as the Trichinopoly area was examined by Mr. H. F. Blanford and his colleagues many new species (as yet undescribed with one exception) were obtained by the present writer in a short trip in 1877-78, the most interesting among them being an Ichthyosaurus [9] and representatives of the important and typically cretaceous family of sponges known as Ventriculites. Both these forms were discovered in the lower beds of the Utatur group, the former to the north-east of Utatur, the latter to the south-west of Maravattur.

The general survey of the country included within the limits of sheet 79 excluding the cretaceous areas and some small tracts of the adjoining rocks was commenced early in 1859 and fell almost entirely to the share of Messrs. King and Foote, by whom it was described in a memoir published in 1863.[10]

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[9] See rough notes on the cretaceous fossils from Trichinopoly District, collected in 1877-78, by R. Bruce Foote, F.G.S., Geological Survey of India, Records. Geological Survey of India, vol. xii, 1879.

This Ichthyosaurus had since been determined and described by Mr. R. Lydekker, Geological Survey of India, in the *Paleontologia* Indian, Series iv, vol. i, Reptilia and Batrachia.

[10] Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India, vol. iv, part 2.

The principal geological features of this large tract of country are (1) the coast alluvium with its fringe of blown sands on the east, and on the west the associated alluvia of the Panār, Guddalam, Vellār, and Cauvery rivers, the latter of which forms a large delta, (2) the western boundary of the alluvium which is generally underlaid by lateritic formations underlaid again in their turn, (3) by a group of sand-stones and grits of tertiary age to which Mr. H. F. Blanford gave the name of Cuddalore sandstones. These in their turn, (4) rest upon the cretaceous rocks which, as already mentioned, rest either upon, (5), a thin series of plant-bearing shales of Jurassic age, or else, (6), direct on the gneissic rocks which occupy considerably more than half the area of sheet 79.

The specially interesting features of the coast alluvium are the evidences of considerable elevation of the land within recent times and of considerable encroachment of the sea which is now in progress all along the coast. In connection with the Cuddalore sandstones the most remarkable fact is the occurrence of silicified trunks of trees in the grit beds at Trivicary (Tiruvakkarei) some miles west of Pondicherry. Much interest attaches to the jurassic plant beds underlying the cretaceous rocks, but it will be more convenient to refer to them again when treating of other and more important outcrops of the same age near Madras.

The gneiss country offers many points of interest both scientifically and practically, but only the more prominent can be touched upon here. The most striking feature is unquestionably the presence in large numbers of beds of magnetic iron which, from their well-marked peculiarities, are much more easily traced over great distances, and thanks to which it was possible in some parts of the country to make out the stratigraphy of the series in a way in which it could not possibly have been done if only the ordinary hornblendic or micaceous forms of gneiss had occurred. This is particularly the

case in the country south-west, west, and north of the Kolimallai mountains (Kolamullays) in the south-eastern corner of the Salem District, also on the southern side of the Pachmallai in Trichinopoly, and again very markedly in the case of the magnetic iron beds in the great valley east of Salem. These latter beds can be traced (with breaks it is true) across the great forest tract including the Tainandamallai and Kalroyenmallai, two considerable mountain masses, till they cross the Panār and pass on into the as-yet-unsurveyed parts lying within the limits of the south-west quarter of sheet 78.

Another very interesting series of magnetic iron beds is that to be seen in the Kanjamallai, a fine detached mountain to the west of Salem formed by the circumdenudation of an elliptical synclinal fold of the rocks. The main mass of this very remarkable mountain lies outside of sheet 79, but it was specially surveyed by the author and described in an appendix to the memoir on that sheet.[11]

From its extremely convenient position with regard to the Madras Railway, which passes within a quarter of a mile of the eastern end of the mountain and the great facility by which unlimited quantities of rich ore could be *quarried* from the lowest of the three great beds which run in parallel elliptical girdles round the entire length of the ridge, Kanjamallai ought to supply the ore for a great iron-smelting industry were it not for the absence of a suitable supply of fuel. The forests of Salem District could not supply charcoal cheaply enough in 1861 to let the native iron-workers compete with English-made bar and rod-iron, and the Porto Novo Iron Company's works at Porto Novo and Poolayamputty were working at a loss and soon ceased working. At the time of writing the article on Kanjamallai, just referred to, the author

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[11] On parts of the district of Salem, Trichinopoly, South Arcot, and Tanjore.—Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India, vol. iv, part 2.

induced a well-known Madras merchant, Mr. A. J. Byard, to consider the question commercially, and the inquiries and calculations made showed that it would not pay to attempt smelting the ore either by importing coal and carrying it up to Salem, or by carrying the ore down to Madras to meet the coal. Whether circumstances have so changed that what seemed hopeless in 1862 should promise in 1882 to be a speculation worth trying is a question to be decided by commercial and metallurgical experts. There are many other difficulties to be solved beside the mere cost of fuel, and foremost among them is the nature of the flux required to be used and whether it can be readily and cheaply procured. Enormously rich as Salem District is in iron ore, the present outlook does not appear favorable to its being made available.

Of the vast variety of mere building stones, nothing special need be said. The gneissic rocks have furnished the bulk of the stone used in building all the greatest temples in South India, and in many cases as Chellumbrum, Tiruvellur, Manargudi, and Tanjore, lying far away in the alluvial flats of the Cauvery delta, enormous cost must have been incurred in merely carrying the stone from the quarries. The enormous monoliths carried to Tanjore, the great bull and the cap stone of the great gopuram of the famous Siva temple, and the huge slab on which stands Chantrey's statue of the late Raja of Tanjore, in one of the Durbar halls in the palace, were in all probability obtained from a quarry of massive syenitoid hornblende rock at the foot of the Patchamallai mountains near Perambalur, a distance of not less than 45 miles.

Captain Newbold in his summary draws attention to the extreme rarity of crystalline limestones among the metamorphic rocks of the south. He would have qualified this remark greatly had he been acquainted with the very important and extensive beds found by Mr. King and the author in Coimbatore, Trichinopoly, and Salem Districts, to the south and

south-east of Karur, on the banks of the Aiyar, and south of Namakal. These will some day furnish large supplies of very handsome marbles of various colors.

Specially interesting to the mineralogist are the great magnesite deposits to the north of Salem and at foot of the Shevaroy Hills with their associated serpentine, chrysotile, chalcedony, and chromic iron. The magnesite occurs in veins traversing talcose, chloritic and hornblendic rocks, which have been greatly altered and decomposed.

Former observers, including Captain Newbold, had described these very singular deposits, but their origination by the action of thermal waters was first made out by Mr. King and the author. Other similar hotspring deposits were noted and described by them as occurring at various places in Salem and Trichinopoly Districts. The chromic iron occurring at the Chalk hills appears to occur in strings in the decomposing serpentinous rocks. It was formerly mined by the Porto Novo Iron Company.

The corundum-yielding rocks in the south-western part of Salem District have not yet been examined by the Geological Survey. They lie beyond the tract surveyed.

In 1861 Messrs. C. Æ. Oldham and King took up the examination of the " Diamond Sandstones " of Malcolmson, a great series of sub-metamorphic or transition rocks occupying the greater part of Kadapa and Karnul Districts, and extending into North Arcot, Bellary, Nellore, and Kistna Districts and the Nizam's territory. These rocks, the area of which is extremely well defined in most places, its boundaries coinciding with the great orological features of the country, had attracted much attention before, and various speculations had been hazarded as to their position in the geological scale. It had long been known to contain the demantiferous beds, but the stratigraphy of the great series had not been worked out.

Various views were propounded as to the age of these rocks and their equivalents in Central India, thus Dr. Carter, in his Summary, classes them as of oolitic age, and includes them in one great series with the carboniferous and other still younger plant-bearing rocks, the Gondwana rocks of the Geological Survey. Newbold with greater caution had, in the absence of any fossils, refrained from forming any positive conclusion as to their age, but inclined, as did also Dr. Malcomson, to regard them as very old, secondary, or possibly even, metamorphic. But he also grouped them together with the overlying fossiliferous rocks and he fell into the error of regarding the limestones of the diamond series as occupying, with few exceptions, the lowest position. None of the earlier observers regarded these transition rocks otherwise than as one great group. It remained for Mr. King, when surveying the country between Karnul and Kadapa, to discover and work out the important fact that two groups of rocks existed there. The younger, to which he gave the name of the Karnul group lying unconformably on the more or less disturbed and denuded Kadapa beds, or else overlapping them on to the gneiss. In many parts the unconformity, though positive, is from the form of the ground often very hard to make out, and to Mr. King belongs the credit due for having established this important fact. The recognition of the two groups was a very important advance in South Indian geology. By far the greater part of the Kadapa and Karnul areas were worked out by Mr. King, who drew up the long and interesting memoir,[12] describing the large tract of country they occupy from Naggeri Nose in the south to Jaggiapetta in the north, and from Karnul on the west to Udayagiri in the East. The notes furnished by Mr. C. Æ.

[12] "On the Kadapah and Karnul Formations in the Madras Presidency" by William King, B.A., Deputy Superintendent, Geological Survey of India. Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India, vol. viii.

Oldham and the writer on the tracts they surveyed were embodied in Mr. King's memoir which was published in 1872.

The lower or Kadapa group was divided by Mr. King into four groups, called after the rivers along which or the mountain group in which they occur. These are :—

Krishna group,
Nallamalla group,
Cheyer group,
Papagni group,

each of which is again sub-divided into different sets of quartzites and slates. Limestones are not unknown in the Kadapa rocks associated with the slate series, but are local in their distribution. They are most largely developed in the lower part of the formation in the Vaimpully sub-division of the Papagni group, and are associated with slates and intrusive sheets of trap. These limestones are frequently serpentinous. The base of the lowest quartzites, the Gulcheru beds of Mr. King, is in parts very coarsely conglomeratic. The western side of the Kadapa basin shows but trifling disturbance since its deposition, but the eastern side along great part of the Vellakonda Range (the Nellore Section of the Eastern Ghāts), the rocks, chiefly quartzites of great thickness, have been tremendously affected by vast lateral pressure and crumpled into great folds, some of which appear to have become inverted. Great faulting has also taken place, and for many miles together the boundary between the gneiss and Kadapa rocks is a great line of fault marking a great upthrow on the eastern side. The great contortions of the quartzite beds and the lofty mural scarps they show in many places give rise to much fine mountain scenery along this part of the Eastern Ghāts. Much very fine scenery is afforded also by the tremendous quartzite scarps of the (Naggery) Nagari mountains and the Tripetti mountains, the southern outliers and the southern

extremity respectively of the Kadapa area. Many far less grand and beautiful scenes are elsewhere made the objects of special visits, but these are lost to most people, as the eastern slopes of the Vellakonda are in a wild out-of-the-way country, and as the trains of the Madras North-West Line run past the Nagari and Tripetty mountains in the night. Within the Kadapa area the scenery is generally much tamer, but many very noteworthy landscapes will impress themselves on the memory of the artistic traveller.

To pass on to the Karnul rocks, the principal interest in which centres in their lowest member, the diamond conglomerite, the only member of the series which is positively known at present to contain diamonds. Other beds have been worked for these precious gems, as shown by their being perfectly honeycombed on their surfaces over considerable areas by old pits, but nothing positive is known as to whether they really yielded any.

The Karnul formation was divided by Mr. King into four groups, named respectively (in descending order)—

Khundēr	..	Shales. Limestones.
Pāneum	..	Quartzites.
Jammalamadugu.		Shales. Limestones.
Banaganpilly	..	Sandstones.

The rocks which are at present reckoned to the Karnul formation in this part of the world occur in two basins; the larger and more southerly of the two occupies the valleys of the Khundēr and Bowanassi rivers extending from Kadapa town northward to the banks of the Kistna, the smaller basin lies some 50 miles to the north-eastward in the valley of the Kistna, and covers nearly the whole of the so-called Pālnād, the westernmost part of the Kistna collectorate. There are considerable stratigraphical difficulties about corre-

lating the rocks of the two basins, but these cannot be gone into here.

The lowest member of the formation in the main or Karnul basin, the Banaganpilly sandstones, includes the true diamond bed, to which so much attention is being devoted at present. The beds where conglomeratic in character have been worked at various places, and at Banaganpilly itself, the capital of the small Native State of that name, they are regularly mined, the demantiferous layer being reached by small shafts sunk to a depth of 15 feet or less. The other workings are open diggings as at Baswapoor, Munnimadagu, Gooraman Konda, and Ramalkota, &c. For details of these mines and the rocks they occur in the reader is referred to Mr. King's Memoir in vol. viii of the Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India, in which the question of the mode of occurrence and working of diamonds in South India is fully entered into, and from which has been taken most of the recent and reliable information about such diamonds given in the third volume (Economic Geology) of the Manual of the Geology of India and in other recent pamphlets and books by Mr. Ball and others.

Even where the "diamond bed" has been worked by the native diggers a very large portion has been left untouched, and very extensive spreads are virgin rock. The exposed area of the Banaganpilly bed is considerable, and a vastly greater area of it is covered up by the overlying limestones and quartzites of the Jammalamadgu and Paneum groups, the thickness of which is not so great, but that it would offer no serious difficulty to systematic mining. Whether such mining is advisable is a question to be decided by careful "prospecting" or preliminary mining. This too will decide whether mining on a large scale with elaborate machinery in the form of "stone-breakers" for crushing the conglomerate will pay. These are questions to be decided

by practical miners; they lie beyond the sphere of the geologist, whose duty it was to trace out and map the extent and position of the demantiferous rock. The Banaganpilly beds was certainly an important source, even if not the only one, whence were derived the demantiferous gravels of the Pennér, Tungabhadra, and Kistna valleys, and most likely also of other stray patches of gravel which are to be met with here and there resting on the older rocks. The workings at Wadjrar Karūr in Bellary District, 20 miles S.W. from Gooty, are believed to be in such a patch of gravel of Karnul origin.[13] The immense denudation undergone by the Banaganpilly beds alone, as shown by the wide separation of their various outliers, is more than enough to account for much more extensive gravel beds than those referred to above.

The diamond workings of the Palnād and those further east along the north bank of the Kistna are of two classes—mines (pits) and alluvial washings. Of the latter nothing more need be said here, but the former demand some remarks. Those with which the writer is personally acquainted mostly lie close to the Kistna river, but none were being worked at the time of his visits. Those occurring at Oostapully, opposite Chintapilly, seemed to have been but lately abandoned, but no information could be procured about them. In the long spur of ground which runs up north from Chintapilly towards Jaggiapetta, and round which the Kistna makes a very remarkable loop, are numerous bands of grit or conglomeratic sandstone passing locally into true quartzites which have in former times been extensively searched (presumably for diamonds), for their surfaces over large areas are closely honeycombed with shallow pits, so closely in parts as to

[13] Wadjrar Karur has not been examined by the officers of the Geological Survey, as it lies a considerable distance beyond the ground they were engaged upon. The writer for one was not aware of its being a diamond-yielding locality till after he had left that part of the world.

make walking over them a most unpleasant performance. There is nothing to distinguish these pits from those recently dug and worked in the Banaganpilly beds in Karnul District, and no trace of any other mineral worth mining for could be found in adjoining undisturbed parts of the beds, nor among the *débris* in and around the pits. It may then be assumed pretty safely that these are old diamond pits once largely worked, but abandoned for some reason a long time back, as all the *débris* is much weathered and lichen covered. If the theory advanced by Mr. Ball in various places,[14] on the strength of a new interpretation of a passage in Tavernier's travels be true, that Kollur on the Kistna be the "Gani Coulour," near which the far-famed Koh-i-nur was found, one of these old pits may have yielded that most celebrated gem, for they are the nearest important group of mines to Kollur. On the Kollur side of the great Pulichinta hill only a few scattered pits, trial pits as it were, were observed, but it is possible a group of them may be hidden in the extensive jungle covering much of that neighbourhood. Anyhow Tavernier's itinerary is geographically in favor of Kollur, the eastward direction, the remarkable coincidence of the names of four of his stages in so short a route being identifiable, the crossing of one great river (not two) to Kollur, a name identical in sound with the second half of the double name given by Tavernier, the proximity of the lofty and very bold Pulichinta ridge and other high hills to the south and south-west, all these points are in favor of Mr. Ball's theory, which has, however, been quite recently assailed by a writer in the Madras Mail in a review of the volume on Economic Geology. This writer starts by overlooking the fact that Tavernier travelled *eastward* in going to Gani Coulour, not due southward as he would have had to do in going to Ramalkota, south of

[14] Manual of the Geology of India, vol. iii, Economic Geology, p. 16, &c.

Karnul. Furthermore, in proceeding direct from Golconda to Masulipatam *viâ* Coulour, Tavernier was certainly not likely to go round *viâ* Karnul and Ramalkota, a tremendous detour, which would have taken him through what is yet a very wild and pathless country. Again, there are certainly no diamond pits anywhere in the plain between Karnul and Jagarnat Konda, which hill can certainly not be looked upon as a high nor obviously cruciform mountain. The only real difficulty with regard to Kollur appears to be in the fact that the place is not near any large town. But it is quite conceivable that a large town existed temporarily during the period of mining prosperity and afterwards decayed and disappeared. The immense population of miners mentioned by Tavernier, "about 60,000," would of themselves alone form a very large town for South India and one of a class whose poor and fragile tenements would after very few years leave no recognizable traces.

Beside the diamond rocks the Karnul formation shows little of special interest. Some beginning has been made to utilize the admirably useful limestones which occur so largely throughout the formation. Many of the structures, both of the Madras Railway (North-West Line) and of the Madras Irrigation Company, are built of the Narji or Koilkuntla limestones. The Pālnād limestones have of late been neglected, though many beds would furnish marbles of various colors and of great beauty. Their eminent suitability for decorative purposes had been fully appreciated by the old Buddhists, who built the exquisitely-carved railings and gateways to the great "Tope" at Amarāvati. Now that Madras is connected with the Kistna river by the East Coast Canal, these beautiful marbles could easily be carried down, and all but a very few miles by water. The rapids of the Kistna lying between Bezvāda and the Pondigole ford, where the old Madras-Hyderabad road crosses the river, are so

trifling that during the S.W. monsoon the navigation of even very heavy barges could involve no serious difficulty.

The north-eastern extremity of the area occupied by the Kadapa and Karnul rocks received extra attention from the fact that coal was stated to have been discovered a few miles off Jaggiapetta. The discoverer (as he believed himself), a very enthusiastic amateur geologist, Lieutenant-Colonel now Major-General F. Applegath, Madras Army, (retired) could not rediscover his coal seam when he took Dr. Oldham, the late Superintendent of the Geological Survey, over the ground in company with Mr. A. J. Stuart, M.C.S. Dr. Oldham failed, after a careful inspection of the ground, to find any indications of the proximity of coal, though from the shape of the ground and the very bare character of the whole country the sections were extremely clear. A very close survey of the Jaggiapetta country was just commenced in 1868 by Mr. C. Æ. Oldham and taken up and carried out in great detail by the author in 1868-69, but without finding the faintest vestige of carbonaceous matter. There was much reason to conclude that the original discovery had been brought about by a trick played upon the gallant officer, but he would not admit the possibility of a hoax, and went very near charging the members of the survey and others with conspiring to deprive him of the fruits of his discovery. For a long time he kept renewing his applications to Government to supply him with the means to make borings. Being a man with influential relations and friends his appeals were eventually listened to so far that the Public Works Department was directed to make borings so as to test the truth of his alleged discovery or of the non-existence of coal maintained by the Geological Surveyors. Mr. Vanstavern's conclusions, as communicated to the Madras Government and endorsed by Major Hasted, R.E., Superintending Engineer, were that after the sinking of 11 boreholes "no coal nor any combustible

substance was met with." Mr. Vanstavern also examined some 58 square miles of country of the supposed coal-field, and, like the Geological Surveyors, completely failed in finding any fossils. He concludes by remarking, "In no place have I met with coal-bearing rocks nor outcrops of coal or any combustible matter, and by the nature of rocks there certainly cannot be any coal."

Another amateur geologist, well known a few years since in Madras, took it upon himself publicly to blame the members of the Geological Survey because they did not recommend Government to make trial borings for coal at places along the North-West Line of the Madras Railway. The indications of coal, on the strength of which he himself went up to Government to recommend such borings were, firstly, *fragments of coal lying on the surface of massive granitoid gneiss* a few yards off the road from Gooty to Ādōni, up which a large quantity of identical (English) coal had been carted a short time before from a coal depôt at Gooty Station; secondly, the presence of petroleum in caves in the limestone cliffs at Khona Oopalpad[15] in Bellary District which turned out to be bat and pigeon guano; thirdly, a report by some wandering miner of traces of carbonaceous matter in a limestone quarry five miles north of North-west Cuddapah town. On examination no traces of carbonaceous matter of any sort could be found, nor had any been noticed by Mr. Higginson, the Madras Irrigation Company's Engineer, who had for weeks before been quarrying there on a large scale. On the precious evidence of such indications

[15] The Khona Oopalpad valley is well worth visiting, for the limestone cliffs containing the guano caves are splendid specimens of recent travertine formed by streams rising to the north. There are two great travertine cliffs, the further of which is really and positively a fossil waterfall and on a very large scale. They contain beautifully preserved impressions of leaves of existing trees also the shells of living species of helix, &c.

was Government deliberately advised to spend large sums of money in borings!

On the completion, in June 1862, of the area included within the limits of sheet 79, the author was deputed to examine the country around Madras, which lies within the area of sheet 78. While marching to take up work on the coast, he made a traverse from Palamaner in North Arcot *viâ* Chittoor, Ranipett, Conjeveram, and Chingleput to the coast at Seven Pagodas (Mahavalipuram). A few weeks of 1862 and part of the season of 1863 and the whole of 1864 and a short time in 1865 were devoted to the Chingleput or Madras District (north of the Palār) and adjoining parts of North Arcot. The southern extension of the Kadapa rock- in the Nagari hills and the north-western part of the plants beds in the Sattavedu hills were surveyed by Mr. King in 1864. The results obtained were published in the Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India in 1873,[16] but a précis of the same had appeared in the records of the Geological Survey of India in 1870.[17] This work was joined on to the older work in sheet 79 by the survey by Mr. C. Æ. Oldham of the country south of the Palār in the season of 1864. Owing to his lamented decease in 1869 his full account of this tract never saw the light, but so much of his notes as referred to the gneissic rocks with the trap dykes intruded into them, and the small patches of Upper Gondwana (jurassic rocks) lying south of the Palār was embodied by the author in a geological sketch of North Arcot which he drew up for the District Manual being prepared by Mr. A. F. Cox, M.C.S. Owing to some unfortunate misunderstanding caused by the author's going to England in 1879 on furlough this sketch was not

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[16] The Geology of Madras by R. Bruce Foote, F.G.S. Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India, vol. x, 1873.

[17] Notes on the Geology of the neighbourhood of Madras, by R. Bruce Foote, F.G.S. Records of the Geological Survey of India, vol. iii, 1870.

published in the Manual, but it appeared in the Records of the Geological Survey for 1879.[18]

Very interesting geological facts were gathered in the Madras region with reference to the plant-bearing Upper Gondwana beds, the lateritic formations and the alluvial valleys of the Palār and Nagari (Naggery) rivers. Among the older rocks one fact of special interest ought to be mentioned, namely, that the gneissic rocks are cut up by a marvellous net-work of great trap dykes, chiefly of coarse dioritic trap. These are seen to perfection in the Chittoor country and the south-western part of Cuddapah District, whence they extend up in equal or greater numbers into Bellary District. Such another net-work of trap dykes is not known in India. The size and continuity of these dykes is as remarkable as their immense number, and they constitute in many parts a most striking feature in the landscape, forming as they do in many cases the backbones, so to say, of very considerable hills and ridges.

But very little was known of the plant-bearing beds near Madras when they were first systematically attacked in 1863. They had been visited by Dr. Schlagintweit and Mr. H. F. Blanford, the former of whom discovered remains of a cycadeous plant in the shales near Sripermatur (27 miles south-west of Madras). Beds containing similar cycadeous remains had several years before been discovered underlying the cretaceous rocks in Trichinopoly District, and resting directly on the gneiss. Their distinctness from the overlying cretaceous rocks was only made out after the discovery in them by Mr. C. Æ. Oldham of fronds of Palæozamia (*Ptilophyllum*) identical with some found in the plant beds in the Rajmahal hills in Bengal which are a group in the Upper Gondwana system. The writer was deputed to examine the representa-

[18] Sketch of the Geology of North Arcot, by R. Bruce Foote, F.G.S.—Records of the Geological Survey of India, vol. xii, part 4, 1879.

tives of the Rajmahal beds near Madras, and after much close work over a difficult country—difficult because of the great want of clear sections—found them to be provisionally divisible into two groups, the Sattavedu and Sripermatur groups. These plant beds or Rajmahal beds occur in scattered patches fringing the higher grounds and resting directly on the gneiss and being overlaid themselves by the younger cretaceous rocks, or the Cuddalore sandstones and lateritic rocks where the cretaceous rocks are absent. In some cases all three are absent, and then the plant beds are overlaid by the recent alluvia, whether fluvestile or marine.

There is considerable petrological difference, as might be expected, between the more widely separated patches of these Upper Gondwana rocks; thus the beds below the cretaceous rocks in Trichinopoly District are most friable sandy shales, the fossil plants from which can hardly be preserved, so slight is the consistency of the matrix. In the vicinity of Sripermatur the shales, which here also predominate, are mostly hard, often indeed almost porcellanic in texture, and the vegetable remains they enclose are preserved with wonderful perfection and durability, nothing short of great violence sufficing to obliterate them. Still further north in the Alicoor hills the shales and soft unctuous clays are associated with uncompacted conglomerates of extraordinary coarseness. Some of these are so excessively coarse that it is extremely difficult to understand how they came to be formed, glacial action not being an admissible factor in a climate in which cycadeous plants abounded. The lower or Sripermatur group consists of shales with a few not very important sandstones overlaid by clays and uncompacted conglomerates (in the Alicoor hills) of various degrees of coarseness. This group is overlaid by a series of enormously coarse, hard, slightly ferruginous conglomerates with a few beds of sandstone. The name "Sattavedu group" has been given to these,

as being best developed in the Sattavedu hills, the sandstones in which yielded the only fossil plants found in the upper group. The division is based solely on the petrological dissimilarity of the rocks. The Trichinopoly members of the Upper Gondwana system were thought to be fresh water deposits, but when examining the Sripermatur area the author found several beds of shale, in which the plant remains were directly associated with marine shells of the genera *Leda*, *Yoldia*, *Tellina*, *Psammobia*, *Lima* and *Pecten*, &c., all thin-shelled forms whose modern representatives live in moderately shallow water, say 8 to 10 fathoms, with a sandy bottom. Dr. Stoliczka, by whom they were examined, considered them to have resemblances to the Trichinopoly cretaceous species, though none were identical. A few small ammonites belonged to the Dentati group, but they were not well enough preserved for identification.

The fossils plants obtained in the Sripermatur beds have been worked out by Dr. Feistmantel, the present Palæontologist to the Survey, and published in the *Palæontologia Indica*.[19] The following list of plants is taken from his monograph :—

Filices.

* Alethopteris whitbyensis.	† Tæniopteris (Angiopteridium) spathulata.
† Do. Indica.	Thinnfeldia—sp.

Cycadeaceæ.

* † Ptilophyllum cutchense.	Otozamites, 2 sp. undescribed.
* † Do. acutifolium.	Pterophyllum, do.
† Dictyozamites falcatus.	Cycadites—sp.
* Otozamites hislopi.	Cycadolepis—sp.
Do. sp. allied to O. tenuatus.	

19 "The fossil flora of the Gondwana system: outliers on the Madras Coast" by O. Feistmantel, M.D., &c. *Palæontologia Indica*, vol. i, part 1, 1879.

Coniferæ.

* † Palissya Indica.	Taxites—sp., found also in the Ragavapuram shales.
† Do. conferta.	Pachyphyllum sp., allied to P. peregrinum.
* Echinostrobus expansus.	
* Araucarites cutchensis.	

Details of the sections in which these fossils were collected will be found in the author's memoir on the geology of Madras.[20]

A considerable number of outliers,[21] most of them of very small size lying a little south of the Pālār river with one or two larger ones further south near the high road from Madras to Trichinopoly, show that there was probably a continuous stretch of these Upper Gondwana rocks extending down to the outliers in Trichinopoly District. To the north of the Sripermatur and Sattavedu areas a similar chain of outliers of various sizes extends to the Nellore and Kistna Districts up to the Upper Gondwana (Rajmahal) beds discovered by Mr. King in the Godāvari District. These will be referred to again further on. One very remarkable feature prevailing in all the many outcrops of these rocks between Trichinopoly District and the north of Rajahmundry District is the total absence of any carbonaceous matter. The plant remains are simply impressions stained red, brown or purple by oxide of iron. This total absence of carbonaceous matter is certainly not a favorable indication of the possible presence of coal in these plant-bearing beds.

Certain detached blocks of gritty sandstone found loose on the surface a short distance to the west and south-west of the old bungalow at Sripermatur were found to contain very

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[20] Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India, vol. x, part 1, 1873.

[21] All the outliers south of the Pālār were surveyed by Mr. C. Æ. Oldham in 1864. His account of them was never published, but a description of them drawn up from his notes by the author will be found in the sketch of the geology of South Arcot in the record of the Geological Survey of India, vol. xii, 1879.

interesting fossil shells of cretaceous age, including a number of ammonites and belemnites, &c. Unfortunately the block could not be traced to any locality where similar rock occurred *in situ*, but it is not improbable that an outcrop of such rocks might be discovered under the extensive deposit of coarse gravel described by the author under the name of Conjeveram gravels which occur over great part of the taluk of that name.

The Sripermatur rocks dip as already described under gritty beds regarded as identical in age with the Cuddalore sandstones and, in the absence of these, directly under the lateritic formation. The Cuddalore beds are uninteresting as they are so far utterly unfossiliferous in the Madras country. The lateritic formation varies greatly in petrological character from enormously coarse conglomerates with hard feruginous matrix to typical, vermiculated, clayey laterite, and this again to slightly-compacted more or less ferruginous sands. The coarse conglomeratic beds occur in the west; the two latter forms occur chiefly in the centre or near the coast. The conglomeratic beds near Madras offer one very interesting feature, which is that they contain chipped stone implements of human manufacture. Since the first discoveries of these implements of the Abbeville type by the author and his colleague, Mr. King,[22] at Palaveram and in the banks of the Attrampakkam mullah, other unquestionable examples of them have been found in connection with the lateritic formations of the eastern coast from the great Udayārpālaiyam laterite plateau up to the Godāvari river, while other gravel deposits at much higher levels and of different origin in the districts of Kadapa, Karnul, Kistna, Dharwar, Kalādgi, and

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[22] See the Geology of Madras.—Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India, vol. x, part 1. See also papers by the author in the Journal of the Madras Literary Society for 1866, and the Journal of the Geological Society of London for 1868.

North-Western Mysore have also yielded implements of that type and in some cases in large numbers.

The interesting points in connection with the alluvia in the Madras country are the evidences of great changes of course of both the Pālār and Nagari rivers and the evidences of changes in level of the coast alluvium, the last being by a movement of elevation. Beds of subfossil marine shells of living species at considerable distances inland in and near Madras.

This is shown by the existence of the chief economical point of interest near Madras is the vast supply of extremely pure clay to be found in the plant beds in the Sripermatur area and also in the eastern part of the Alicoor area.

The survey of this region was completed in 1864, but it was not till 1873 that the full memoir on it was published. A short sketch of the results had, however, appeared in the Records in 1870.

On the completion of the survey of the Kadapa and Karnul rocks in 1869, the author was deputed to take up the survey of the transition rocks in the South Mahratta country and to make a traverse through Bellary District *en route* along the line of railway so as to connect the new and old work. These rocks occupy a zone between the southern boundary of the overlying Deccan trap and the underlying gneissic rocks. The zone having very ragged boundaries large tracts both of the trap and gneiss countries had to be traversed in merely mapping the boundary. The transition rocks were found to belong to two series, as well as to occupy two quite distinct basins; the rocks in the eastern basin, to which the name of the Bhima [23] basin was given, corresponding very closely in petro-

[23] This name was chosen as the shortest and most suitable to designate the series crossing the Bhima river. The eastern and larger half of this basin was surveyed by Mr. King, whose views as to the age of the rocks agreed with those formed by the author.

logical character with the Karnul series, while the beds of the western in Kalādgi basin bore much greater resemblance to those of the more highly metamorphosed beds of the Kadapa series.

As with the exception of limestones which abound in both series they are of little interest they may be passed over without further remarks. The interesting features of the gneiss region in the South Mahratta country centres in the great bands of hæmatite schist which, where jaspery in texture, rich colored (purple, grey, and bright red) and highly contorted, give rise to some splendid rock scenery. Very striking also are the enormous masses of greyish white dolomite limestone exposed in the ghāts east of Goa. They are carved into splendid turreted and castellated masses many hundred feet high, round which winds the Kell ghāt on its way into the Goa Konkan.

The very fine falls of the Gatprabbha river at Gokak and the grand gorge of the Naul Tirt near Manoli are both capital displays of scenery formed by quartzite rocks.

Of purely scientific interest was the discovery near Gokak of fossiliferous fresh water inter-trappean beds, and at the same place a find of bones of great mammals in fluviatile deposits. Amongst them the remains of a new species of Rhinoceros (Rh. Deccanensis, *Foote*) and a very large bovine animal.

The Deccan trap offers the splendid scenery of the great western scarps and the singular cappings on all the highest summits by the iron clay or laterite of much disputed origin.

The lines of Mr. Wilkinson's survey of the Southern Konkan were joined to those of the South Mahratta country. The season of 1874 saw the conclusion of the work in this quarter by a traverse from Belgaum to Gooty *viâ*

Dharwar, Hubli, Guddack, the Dhambal goldfield,[24] Vijayanagar, (Humpi), and Bellary.

The field season of 1872-73 was considerably trenched upon by the author's proceeding to Vienna in charge of the large collections of minerals and fossils shown by the Geological Survey of India in the great exhibition there. Great difficulty was met with in procuring any space for exhibiting these, but eventually, by the assistance of Colonel Michael, C.S.I., the first Commissioner for India, some room was made for the geological collections. Great interest was taken in all the exhibits, and a Diploma of Honor, the highest possible award, was given to Dr. Oldham, the Superintendent of the Geological Survey. The author availed himself of the opportunity of exhibiting a very interesting collection of South Indian stone implements of all types found by himself. It was greatly admired and several offers of purchase were made. Eventually the author presented it to the Indian Museum, where it is now presumed to be.

Mr. King's notes on the lower Vindhyan or Karnul rocks in the Bhima basin were embodied in the author's Memoir on the Geology of the South Mahratta country, vol. xii.—Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India.

Prior to taking up the Bhima basin and its environs Mr. King had been working in the southern parts of the Nizam's territory, in the Kummummett and Hanamconda Districts, his immediate results appearing in two papers in the Records of the Geological Survey of India, vol. v, 1872,[25]

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[24] The Dhambal or Kappatgode goldfield was surveyed and the results published in a paper in the Records of the Geological Survey of India, vol. viii, 1874, with a map. The author has since then added much to his practical experience of gold reefs, and has studied and prospected in company with practical miners. The experience thus gained confirms him in the poor estimate he formed of the Dhambal goldfield.

[25] Under the titles of (1) Notes on a traverse of parts of the Kummummett and Hanamconda Districts, in the Nizam's dominions; (2) Notes on a new coalfield in the south-eastern part of the Hyderabad (Deccan) territory.

but they were incorporated also in his final Memoir on the Pranhita-Godāvari valley, in connection with which they will be again referred to further on. They are among the most important practical results obtained by the Survey in South India.

On the completion of the work in the south-western part of the Nizam's territory and the South Mahratta country, Mr. King reverted to his old working ground in the Godāvari valley, and the author was directed to take up the country between the ghāts and the sea from Lat. 15° N. up to Masulipatam. Mr. King's work in the Godāvari country occupied him till the end of the field season 1879-80, and resulted in the publication of one Memoir in 1880 on the coastal region of the Godāvari District, and of a second, in 1881, on the geology of the Pranhita-Godāvari valley.[26] Mr. King's Godāvari work was interrupted in 1874-75 by a visit to the Wynaad, where he spent several months in examining the auriferous tract in the south-east part of the district. His report on this region was published in May 1875 in the Records of the Geological Survey of India.[27]

This report though rather put in the background, but from a mining point of view only, by Mr. Brough-Smyth's subsequent report, contains a capital account of the geology of South-East Wynaad and a fair statement of the gold prospects as far as they could then be foreseen.

Tinte will show which views were best founded—the moderate ones or the highly colored ones put forward later on. Several scientific Mining Engineers of high standing expressed in conversation with the author their very favorable opinion of Mr. King's report.

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[26] In vols. xvi and xviii of the Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India respectively.

[27] Preliminary Note on the Goldfields of the South-East Wynaad, Madras Presidency, by William King, B.A., Deputy Superintendent, Geological Survey of India.—Records of the Geological Survey of India, vol. viii, 1875.

Mr. King paid the Wynaad a second visit, but of very short duration, in 1878, and published his notes of the same in the records for August of that year.[28] In 1880 Mr. King visited Pondicherry and reported on the artesian wells sunk at that place, and gave a rather favorable opinion on the probability of similar borings meeting with success at Cuddalore and Madras and at other places situated on the coast alluvium.[29]

The author's work in the Nellore and Kistna Districts occupied him during three field seasons, from 1874 to 1877, and the results were embodied in a Memoir " On the Geology of the Eastern Coast from Lat. 15° N. to Masulipatam."—(Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India, vol. xvi, part i, 1879).

The points of special interest here met with were (1), the settlement of the non-volcanic character of the Boggola-konda, a conspicuous black conical hill south-east of Vinu-konda in the Kistna District, which had often been asserted to be the centre from which emanated the generally slight earthquake shocks so common in that quarter.

(2) The existence of three important series of rich magnetic iron-beds—one at Ongole, one north, and another south of that town—the first being so situate that its ore could be easily and cheaply conveyed to the East Coast Canal or else the sea at Kottapatam.

(3) The discovery of very richly fossiliferous marine beds in the Upper Gondwana (Rajmahal) outliers to the north-east of Ongole. Outcrops of these beds had been noted by the late Mr. C. Æ. Oldham while making a traverse from Guntūr to Ongole at Tangelamudi, Inkolu, and Razpudi, and were

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[28] Note on the Progress of the Gold Industry in the Wynaad, &c.—Records of the Geological Survey of India, vol. xi, 1878.

[29] (1) On the artesian wells at Pondicherry, &c., &c; (2) Additional note on the artesian wells.—Records of the Geological Survey of India, vol. xiii, 1880.

supposed by him to be of Rajmahal age, but he missed the rich fossiliferous beds of Vemavaram and Budivada. These last-named formations, both of marine origin, are considerably unlike each other, the Budivadas being a calcareous, gritty sandstone fully charged with oysters and other shells, and a very few, but typical, Rajmahal plants. The Vemāvaram beds on the contrary being fine hard shales often semi-porcelanic and full of exquisitely preserved vegetable remains, accompanied by a few marine shells, fish remains and other fossils, the most interesting of the latter being a beautifully fossilized, but unfortunately somewhat imperfect, impression of a crustacean of the genus Eryon.[30]

The most noteworthy fact with regard to the fossil plants was the predominance of Dictyozamites falcatus—one of the most typical Rajmahal forms known. Pterophyllum, another very characteristic Rajmahal form, is represented by more than one species. In point of beauty of preservation the Vemāvaram fossils are almost unequalled. A description of this flora, which is by far the richest of any of the plant formations fringing the east coast, has been given by Dr. Feistmantel in the *Palæontologia Indica*, vol. i, part iv, of the Flora of the Gondwana system, "outliers of the Madras coast." In the absence of that very interesting volume which the writer has not by him in camp, only the best known and commonest species will be enumerated :—

Alethopteris Indica.	Dictyozamites falcatus.
Tæniopteris spathulata.	Palissya sp.
Pterophyllum Footeanum, *Feist.*	Eelmiostrobus sp.
Pterophyllum 2 other sp.	Arancarites sp.
Ptilophyllum acutifolium.	Cunninghamites sp.
Do. cutchense.	Taxites sp.
Otozamites sp.	

[30] This crustacean was figured and described by Dr. Feistmantel who considers it very closely allied to, if not identical with, Eryon Barroviensis of the English Lias, in the Records (vol. x, 1877).

With regard to the frequency of occurrence of the three natural orders of plants represented in the several patches of Gondwana rocks, it may be pointed out that the ferns are most common in the Trichinopoly beds, the cycads in the Vemāvaram (Ongole) beds, and conifers in the Sripermatur beds. From their condition it is clear that the plant remains were carried into the sea in a fragmentary state, but imbedded so rapidly that decay had attacked them very slightly or not at all. The animal remains as a rule are in a much inferior state of preservation.

The earliest geological observers in the Godāvari valley were Drs. Voysey and Walker, but the work of the former was of no great importance in this case, and the latter unfortunately just failed to discover the real coal measures in that quarter; but he obtained some interesting fossil fish remains from the limestones at Kota near Sironcha. These observers were followed by Mr. Philip Wall, Mineral Viewer to the Madras Government, who made a careful and useful examination of the valley, but failed to discover the coal-bearing strata. The first real light on the structure of that region was thrown upon it by the Rev. Stephen Hislop, of the Scotch Mission at Nagpur, whose contributions to the geology of Central India were of high merit. One of his papers, having reference to the geology of the neighbourhood of Rajahmundry, will be referred to further on.

The geological survey broke ground in the Godāvari valley in 1870-71 when Mr. W. T. Blanford, Depy. Supt., first connected the known rock formations of Central India with those established by the Geological Survey of the Madras Presidency. This was done by a number of careful traverses from the neighbourhood of Sironcha down to the country around Nūzed (Noozeid). Much of Mr. Blanford's time was devoted to the borings being carried out in the small patches of Barākar rocks (formerly called Damudas, the Indian

carboniferous series) along the banks of the river. The first discovery of coal *in situ* was made by excavations through the sands executed by Mr. Blanford's advice a little below the mouth of the Tal river, where Mr. Wall had been unsuccessful. Two of the seams thus discovered were at the village of Lingala, close to the left bank of the river, but unfortunately they dip under the bed of the river, and it would therefore be very difficult to work them. A third seam crops up in the very middle of the river and a fourth was detected by Mr. Vanstavern on the right bank of the river. The borings were made at Madavāram on the right or south bank of the river, and at Tātpuli on the left bank. The borings showed the existence on the left bank of some 25,000 or more tons of coal, a good part of which might be raised, and the location is most convenient for carriage.

During the progress of the borings Mr. Blanford extended his knowledge of the geological features by several traverses. He explored the country down to the alluvial boundary near Ellore and Rajahmundry. Mr. Blanford's place in the Godāvari valley was taken by Mr. King (in 1872), who devoted himself to a more systematic examination of the whole valley. In the course of this season's work he discovered a small but very important basin of the Barākar rocks, containing several coal seams to which he gave the name of the Singareny coalfield after a large neighbouring village. He had previously visited the smaller Kamaram coalfield to the north, which had been discovered by the hill people of the Koi tribe. It contains some two millions and a quarter of tons of coal, but lies in a most out of-the-way region and offers many difficulties to economical mining. The Singareny coalfield which covers an area of about 19 square miles has been tested by borings by Mr. Heenan, an officer in the Nizam's service, and shown to be very valuable. When connected with a railway system by which the coal can be conveyed easily to

the Kistna river, it will probably supply Madras very advantageously.

During the same season Mr. King determined a fact suspected by Mr. Blanford that an outcrop of Barākar rocks exists some 20 miles west of Rajahmundry, at Beddadnol but no coal outcrops could be traced after the closest examination of the surface. Despite this, Mr. King recommended that borings should be put down and fixed the sites for the holes which were very effectively executed by Mr. Vanstavern, the Executive Engineer, D.P.W. The borings showed the existence of six seams of carbonaceous clays and coaly shales; unfortunately none were at all fit for fuel. The results being so unsatisfactory, and the increased knowledge gained not pointing to likely improvement by extended tests, Mr. King in 1876 advised the discontinuance of further attempts by boring.

Mr. King's survey of the Godāvari country was rewarded by many other interesting results, *e.g.*, he was enabled to divide the Upper Gondwana formation into three well-marked divisions—

Tripetty sandstones.
Ragavapuram shales.
Golapilly sandstones.

Like the more southerly Upper Gondwāna beds along the coast, these are of marine origin. They occur as a belt some 10 to 15 miles wide running east-north-east from near Ellore nearly to the right bank of the Godāvari, a few outliers occurring at Innaparazpolliam in the south of Vizagapatam District. The Tripetty sandstones contain *inter alia* two Trigoniæ (*T. smeei* and *T. ventricosa*), both characteristic of the Umia beds of Cutch, the latter shell being also very abundant in the Uitenhage beds in South Africa.

The Ragavapuram shales contain many vegetable remains, together with ammonites and other shells. Many of the

plants they contain are typical Rajmahal species, but several others are allied to the younger Jubbulpur group of Central India, as for example *Gingko crassipes.* The other plants are identical with species occurring in the Sripermatur beds and the Vemavaram (Ongole) beds. The lowest division, the Golapilly beds, are all, according to Dr. Feistmantel, of Rajmahal or Liassic age.

These three divisions are supposed to agree with the three divisions of the Vemavaram (Ongole) series recognized by the writer—

Pavulur sandstones.
Vemavaram shales.
Budavada sandstones.

Also with the three divisions of the Kota Maleri beds in the northern part of the Pranhita-Godāvari valley—

Chikkiala group.
Kota group.
Maleri group.

But these latter really belong more to the geology of Central India and need not therefore be further referred to. The fossils of the Golapilly group determined and figured by Dr. Feistmantel in part iii of the 1st vol. of the Flora of the Gondwana system in the *Palæontologia Indica* are the following:—

Filices—

Gleichenia bindrabunensis.
Alethopteris Indica.
Asplenites macrocarpus.
Tæniopteris Macclellandi (Angiopteridium).
Do. spathulata.
Do. ensis.

Cycadeaceæ—

Pterophyllum distans.
Do. Carterianum.
Do. Morrisianum.
Ptilophyllum acutifolium.
Do. Cutchense.
Dictyozamites falcatus.
Williamsonia sp.

Coniferæ—

Palissya pectinea.
Do. Oldhami.
Araucarites sp.
Echinostrobus sp.

Another interesting discovery made by Mr. King in the Godāvari country was that of a marine formation of sandstones with calcareous beds at top in which marine fossils abound. Only one form, a very abundant Turritella, has been identified with *T. dispassa* from the Arialur cretaceous beds of the south; and only one fossil, *Carditā variabilis*, occurs in the overlying intertrappen beds. The exact position of these Dudukur and Pangadi infratrappeans is doubtful, but the balance of evidence is in favor of regarding them as cretaceous or intermediate between that and lower Eocene. Many of these fossils are still awaiting determination.

The inter-trappean beds which overly the infratrappean with the intervention of a flow of Deccan trap of from 30 to 100 feet thick have long been known to occur on both sides of the Godāvari, at Pangadi and Kateru. They were discovered by General Cullen and Dr. Benza, collected chiefly by Lieutenant Stoddart and Sir Walter Elliott, and described and figured by the Rev. S. Hislop.[31] The shells, which

[31] Qy. Journal of the Geological Society, 1860. A list of them is also given, and some of the more important re-figured in the Manual for the Geology of India, vol. i.

have a markedly estuarine facies, appear to be most related to the upper cretaceous rocks of South India. Several genera and species not known to Hislop were since obtained by Mr. A. J. Stuart, when Sub-Collector of Rajahmundry, and by Mr. King.

The great shingle formations near Rajahmundry are regarded by Mr. King as equivalent to the Cuddalore sandstones of Mr. H. F. Blanford.

Evidence of the great advance seaward of the Kistna-Godāvari alluvial (delta) plain was obtained far inland at a place not far from the south end of the Kolēr lake, where fossil marine shells and crabs of living species were found by Mr. Peters, C.E., Executive Engineer at Bezwada, when excavating for the foundation of some irrigation buildings.

On the completion of the Nellore-Kistna coast tract, the writer was sent southward to take up the large unknown tract east and north-east of Madura. As it was considered highly probable that cretaceous rocks might be found in that *terra incognita*, the author took a rapid run over the typical rocks in Trichinopoly District to renew his acquaintance with them after an interval of 18 years. This visit resulted in his forming a very fine collection of cretaceous fossils, including many important novelties (see above). The survey of the greater part of the *terra incognita* showed, unfortunately, little of interest; the hoped-for cretaceous rocks were not met with and nearly the whole area was found to be occupied by lateritic formations, chiefly of the sandy variety. The eastern part of the country is a difficult one to travel over from its very sandy nature, and a most unsatisfactory one to survey geologically from the badness of the only available topographical map, sheet 80 of the Indian Atlas. A vast number of villages are not given; of many, the positions of which seem identifiable in the map, the names they now go by will not agree with those given. This state of things

when in a very flat and jungly country, without the ghost of a landmark on which to get bearings, constitutes a succession of puzzles not conducive to rapid progress. Several hundreds of square miles of such country had to be traversed to make sure that no valuable rocks had been overlooked. Of all the Atlas sheets the author has had experience of, sheet 80 is certainly most in want of revision and correction. The account of the survey results was given in a paper in the records for 1879.[32]

The survey of the country south of the above area was resumed by the author in the beginning of 1881 and is now in progress, and will, it is hoped, be completed during the present season and joined on to Mr. King's unpublished work in South Travancore carried out in 1881. In 1880 was published a Memoir on the Nellore Portion of Carnatic.[33] This memoir includes the Nellore District, sc far as included in sheet 77 of the Indian Atlas, the survey of which was carried out by the late Charles Æ. Oldham in the northern, and by Mr. King in the southern part of the areas in 1860 and following seasons, together with a traverse by the writer from Gudur to the foot of the ghāts at Rapur and thence northward past Udayagiri into the northern taluks. The publication of this memoir was delayed chiefly by the lamented death of Mr. C. Æ. Oldham and by the impossibility of determining till after the completion of the survey of the Kadapa formation the age of a large area of rocks of very obscure relationship in the very centre of the district. More emergent duties elsewhere

[32] On the geological features of the northern part of Madura District, the Pudukota State and the southern parts of Tanjore and Trichinopoly Districts included with the limits of sheet 80, &c., &c., by R. Bruce Foote, F.G.S.—Records of the Geological Survey of India, vol. xii, 1879.

[33] The gneiss and transition rocks and other formations of the Nellore portion of the Carnatic by William King, B.A., Deputy Superintendent, Geological Survey of India. Vol. xiv, part 2, of the Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India.

caused this work to lie over for several seasons. The memoir deals chiefly with the metamorphic and transition rocks which occupy nearly the whole area. The sedimentary rocks including a few small outliers of Upper Gondwana age and a fringe of patches of lateritic rocks are of small interest.

The critical examination of the rocks of South India has led to their being divided into several systems and groups which may, for convenience of study, be arranged in tabular form as below :—

List of Formations in South India.

	Recent and Post-Tertiary.	Blown Sands, "Teris" or red sand hills of Tinnevelly. Soils generally. Kankar, modern alluvia, fluviatile, estuarine, and marine. Marine sandstones and limestones of Tinnevelly and Madura Coasts. Low level laterite.			
Cænozoic.	Tertiary.	Sandstones, clays and lignites of Travancore and Ratnagiri. Cuddalore sandstones.			
Cænozoic.	?	High level laterite (iron clay) of the Southern Deccan.			
Mesozoic.	Upper Cretaceous.	Trap-flows and inter-trappeans of South Mahratta country and Rajahmundry, Lameta or infra-trappean of Rajahmundry.		Arialur, Trichino-poly. Utatur.	Groups of marine origin.
Mesozoic.	Gondwana System.	Upper Gondwana. (Jurassic Triassic).	Plant beds of East Coast Utatur. Sattavedu. Sripermatur.	Pavulur. Vemavaram. Budavada.	Tripetty. Ragava-puram. Golapilli.
Palæozoic.		Lower Gondwana. Triassic Upper. Palæozoic.	Kamthi group. Barakar group. Talchir group.	Of Godávari Valley and South-East Deccan.	
Azoic.	Vindhyan System.	Upper. Lower.	Karnul and Bhima Series.		
Azoic.	Transition or Sub-Metamorphic.	Upper. Lower.	Kadapa and Kaladgi Series.		
Azoic.	Metamorphic or Gneissic.	Gneiss, granitoid and schistose rocks with associated traps, granite, and quartz veins.			

Much other information not published officially was gathered by the different members of the Survey during various trips made when on leave ; this need not be specially alluded

to here, but the knowledge thus gained was most valuable when it came to constructing the general geological map of the country issued with the Manual. They were able to speak with certainty about the general features of large tracts which are not likely to come under a regular survey for many years.

In addition to the field work and the resultant memoirs and papers with their various maps, sections and other illustrations already enumerated, the officers of the Geological Survey have furnished many résumés for District Manuals and Presidency Gazetteers. Five (if not six) courses of geological lectures were delivered at the Civil Engineering College in Madras, to which the public was also admitted, while many weeks of labor were bestowed some years since by Mr. King and the writer on the re-arrangements of the large collections of minerals and fossils in the Madras Museum which they further enriched with large numbers of valuable specimens.

The amount of work performed by the Geological Surveyors in the south of India alone, when judged by the area which they have mapped, will be found to be by no means contemptible. This area amounts as nearly as possible to 100,000 square miles and lies chiefly on the eastern side of the Peninsula (the region in which the coal-bearing rocks were most likely to occur) from Madura up to the borders of Vizagapatam ; with a broad belt across the entire width of the Peninsula covering great part of the basin of the Kistna and another running up the valley of the Godávari to join the Central Indian area. To these should be added the Nílgiri plateau and the southern half of the Wynaad. Those who have not gone about much have little idea of the physical labour they would have to undergo before they could give an accurate and useful account of the mere topography of a large tract of country. The members of the other Survey Depart-

ments and a few active officials in other branches of the services can realize how hard is the work and how great the exposure of men engaged in following up the geological features of this country. Some energetic sportsmen can do so also, but only to a limited extent, for their exertions are self-imposed, and they can cease from them whenever they feel inclined. The surveyor, on the contrary, cannot, during his field season, cease from his daily round of fatigue and exposure unless he actually goes on the sick list. The rougher the country, the harder the work. It is true this work is often intensely interesting, but it is more often monotonous, and sometimes for days together dreary in the extreme. Then, too, there is the weariness of a solitary life in outlandish places where a white face is sometimes not met with for months together.

Some residents in Presidency towns, whose greatest physical exertion consists in going to office and sitting under a punkah all day, appear to imagine the jungle life of a geologist an easy one compared with the severe brain-work they have to go through. The man of sedentary avocation, contrasting the monotony and confinement of his daily official routine with the freedom, variety of action, and change of scene that fall to the lot of the geologist, may picture the tent life of the latter as combining the zest and charm of romance and adventure with the delights of travel pursued under agreeable surroundings. To the journalist pent up in his sanctum, for instance, the life of the geologist may appear to be made up of interesting excursions into the country from which, when wearied, he can at will retire to "recuperate" in the nearest town, there, at his leisure, to write up from his notes the results of his latest expedition. It is apparently under the influence of such impressions, that are written some of the criticisms that from time to time appear on the work done and progress made by the geologists of India. Such critics need to be reminded

that their fanciful picture has its drawbacks as may be seen by a very slight consideration of the discomforts, disadvantages and dangers to which the geologist is exposed. There are many facts and circumstances to be taken into account during the long and uninterrupted period of a season's field-work besides those vicissitudes in the life of a geologist which may be thought to impart a pleasant piquancy to an absorbing pursuit. His severance, though temporary, from civilization, means separation from wife, family, and friends; he cannot enjoy the luxury of a library although he may constantly need to refer to his books with reference to his current work. After morning rounds of from fifteen to twenty-five miles, partly performed on foot under exposure to the sun for from six to eight hours at a stretch, he has to spend his afternoons in camp in writing and mapping work, and such "spare" time as he can find must be employed in keeping himself *au courant* with the progress of the science he professes by reading up the latest contributions to its extensive literature.

So much for actual hard work and discomfort. With regard to dangers both to health and life, it should not be forgotten that the geologist has frequently to pass through districts where good water is hard to be found and to remain, at times, for weeks together in malarious tracts of country; that he is occasionally exposed to risks from violent storms and from wild beasts in jungly regions, and that he may at any time, as often happens, be attacked by serious illness when scores of miles away from medical aid. Nor whilst thus arduously engaged and subjected to discomfort, loss of health, and danger, is the actual brain-work required to unravel the geology of a difficult or obscure country very much less severe than that demanded from the occupant of an editorial arm-chair in the composition of a critique on the recorded results of a season's work.

Some ten years ago the history of the different survey departments in India was written by a very able man who had travelled in many countries and could well judge of the work to be expected from the surveyors. A passage from his work, referring to the Geological Survey of India, may not inappropriately be quoted. The author, Clement Markham, of Cinchona fame, wrote as follows:

"There is a vast field still spread before the Geological Survey of India, a great work yet to be achieved, though much certainly has already been done. They must be animated by a noble devotion to the cause of science these Indian geologists, for theirs is neither a safe nor an easy task. Out of the two dozen or so that have entered the Survey since it commenced, 34 per cent. have been struck down by death or incapacitating disease. The rest work on zealously and bravely, reflecting honor on English administration, by the results of their labors, extending the sum of human knowledge, and doing much practically useful work. In spite of all difficulties of climate, inaccessibility of districts and slowness of means of travel, they have examined an area four times as large as Great Britain."

The mortality among the geologists has decreased somewhat since the above was written, as experience has been gained as to the different seasons at which malaria prevails in different regions, and the men have been, more frequently, allowed to do their recess work in cool sanitaria ; but the general amount of exposure, with all its attendant risks, remains just as before. The greatest incentive to the geologists to continue to work hard would be a great increase in the number of amateur geologists who would take a really lively interest in the progress of the science in the country, and endeavour to add to and improve upon what has already been done. Apart from those engaged in mining speculations, the author does not know a single person in South

India who takes an active interest in geological work. At home, where there are many amateurs, who are enthusiastic workers afterwards, it seems hardly necessary to observe, that it is different. Many of the greatest geologists were in the beginning pure amateurs. Lyell, Murchison, De la Beche, Godwin-Austen, Von Buch, D'Archiac and many others, both English and foreign, began as such, even though they afterwards took to Geology as a profession.

Amongst amateur geologists South India may be proud of, men of the right sort, Heyne, Buchanan, Benza, Voysay, Malcolms, Newbold, General Cullen, Colonel Sykes, Robert Cole, Kaye, and Stephen Hislop may be named of those that are gone. Of living South Indian amateurs, Cunliffe, Dr. Carter and Dr. (now Bishop) Caldwell did good and useful work in former years, but of late they have been silent! Amateurs of the wrong sort, men who look for coal in granitic and metamorphic rocks, and are ever recommending the search for mares' nests, are not wanted; they are simply hindrances to the cause of science and real advancement.

This sketch is an attempt to show the actual work done by the Geological Survey in South India; it is necessarily imperfect, as owing to the pressure of prior duties, the greater part of it has had to be written in camp without means of reference to many of the publications alluded to, and of many others bearing on Indian geology. The author has, of course, been able to write much more clearly and satisfactorily on points coming within the range of his personal knowledge, but he has striven hard to do full justice to the excellent work of his colleagues, and trusts he has succeeded.

R. Bruce Foote.

VI.

LIST OF SAURA WORDS.

Mr. W. F. Grahame, B.A., of the Madras Civil Service, kindly forwarded to the Editor of this Journal two unarranged Lists of Saura Words. As Mr. Grahame originally intended to arrange the lists himself and to write a grammatical preface to them, they were for this purpose returned to him. But Mr. Grahame was eventually by press of work and by his leaving this country prevented from carrying out his intentions. The Editor has therefore been obliged to undertake the publication himself. He has united the two lists into one, arranging the words alphabetically. In one of the lists Mr. Grahame gave the Saura words in Telugu characters and in the other list in Roman characters. In order to show from what list the words are taken, those contained in the latter (Roman) list are printed in Italics.

LIST OF SAURA WORDS.

ABUSE, *kaiṅgle.*
ABUSIṄG, kaiṅkaiṅte.
ACCOUNTS, *iḍiḍan.*
ADOPT (to), pośīte.
AFTERNOON, tambān.
AFTERWARDS, namōḍe.
AGREEMENT, mannā.
AIR, riṅge, *riṅgin.*
ALL, kunḍūbin, *kuḍuban.*
AM (I), *ḍako.*
ANGER, banḍrāpu, bamsrā.
ANKLE, *julujēṅg.*
ARE, ḍako.
ARM, *kappa.*
ARTICLE, aliyañjandra.
ASHES, *kumal.*
ASKING, gārgār.
ATE, *jumlai.*
AXE, *suda enjun.*

BACK, penḍumbā, jālu, *kindoṅg.*
BACKSIDE, *samhi.*
BAD, *baṅgsāṭṭer, sisān, ā.*
BAG, *darkona.*
BAMBOO, *uruṅgan.*

Banian tree, *taba.*
Bark (to), *yēḍātai.*
Bark (of tree), *korang.*
Be (to), ḍakkote; (infinitive) jīlai.
Beam, *ara, sungara.*
Beard, *korutan.*
Beat (to), *ṭiḍa, ṭiḍa;* (past tense) *ṭidle.*
Beating, tireti.
Became, *dēlē.*
Because, *kanı asan.*
Bed, *belna, sandi.*
Beef, tangitījalu.
Been, ḍakovu.
Behind, *kiṇḍong, bān.*
Believing, ampaśe.
Belly, *kim pung.*
Below, jayitān.
Bending, lūjetum.
Betel leaves, pannāl.
Big, *suda.*
Birth, *kudle.*
Biting, rameti.
Bitter, aśanga.
Black (blue), *yagādam,* suadam.
Blind, kāḍu.
Blotting, atorle.
Body, *dong.*
Bone, *ajang.*
Book, *kambola,* kambārala.
Born, koḍēti.
Bottle, kante.
Bought, netilu, *nīte.*
Bound, jētācu.
Bovine, *tang.*
Box, pēlā, *pēla.*
Branch, *andār.*
Brass, *riḍḍi.*
Bravery, batangongu.
Bread, pūpū, *poppo.*
Break (to), wood, *allai;* a rope, *attalsiṛai.*

Breaking, pallaśira.
Breaking fast, tambangalāyi.
Bring, *nai, pāngaiba.*
Bringing, hagāyite.
Brinjals, aṇḍārai.
Broad, *tāng.*
Broke, allai.
Brother, gāṁliju (elder), *kāku* (younger), *obbang.*
Brought, pangale.
Buffalo, orobong; female, *insolo bong, bontel.*
Build (to) a house, *gusingba.*
Building, jījītinbe.
Bull, *kitun tang, kuppa tang;* (holy) *kuppa tang.*
Bullet, *gudi.*
Burning, soyīti.
Bush, *rukūḍī.*
Buy (to), *niṭai.*
Buying, taratte, gñani.
By, anin, ṅapsēte.

Calf, *ontang.*
Cannon, soḍabāḍā.
Car, *aludan.*
Carpet, *sindri,* belbel.
Cat, *rammeng.*
Catch hold of (to), *nembai.*
Channel, ḍāngoro.
Charcoal, *asājan.*
Chatty (pot), *danki.*
Cheese, āḍummī.
Cheeta, *kinna.*
Cheroot, *adelpur.*
Chewing, rante.
Child, *pasi;* female—insolo pasi.
Citrono, tebāvu.
Cloth, śiṇḍri, *kāb.*
Clothes, *sindri;*—below the waist, *sindri kāb;*—above the waist, *pañcaiya kāb.*

Cloud, mōḍa, *tarup, taruban.*
Cocoanut, paiḍi.
Cocoanut-tree, *kobbari ara, paiḍi ara.*
Cold, raṅgā, *sayyo.*
Come (to), *irai, iṭṭai, i aiba ;* (imperative), *aiba, ma ;* to allow to, *yiggoṅgu.*
Coming, yāyibā.
Confessing, laggā.
Cook (to), *diṅgtai.*
Cooked, *aluglai.*
Cooking, *diṅg ;*—room, *losuṅg*
Coolness, seyu.
Correct, sujḍītibe.
Coughing, kōyatē.
Counted, *ḍiḍili,* sidlai.
Cow, *taññile.*
Cradle, tonai.
Creaping, lāmlāmeti.
Crime, *dhusal.*
Crow, *kākkan.*
Crying, yētō.
Cucumber, yaṅgaḍrā.
Cultivation, *oro.*
Curved, baṅko.
Cut (past tense), *edlai.*
Cutting, gatte.

Dancing, toṅgeti, taraṅgaseṅg, tāṅgutāṅgān.
Darting, rete.
Date-tree, *sinḍi ara.*
Day, *ainan.*
Day after to-morrow, nērame.
Day before yesterday, moyye.
Day-light, *dhina.*
Day-time, tambā.
Dead, kēyelle.
Deaf, kallā.
Delivered, neṅgīte.
Demanding, tagulavānticeti.

Denying, yajḍā.
Descending, layisā.
Did, tibeti.
Die (to), *kirlai.*
Died, *kirlepo.*
Digestion, śeyū.
Digging, gayatibe.
Dining, varruban, tumbāṅgāgan, ganīte.
Distribute, bantetebe.
Distributing, tītiyyeti.
Do (Inf.), tettebe, atibhyā, *ṭubai, miṭai.*
Dog, *kinsoro.*
Doing, teputebe.
Done, tuceti.
Door, sanāṅgu, *ara samaṅg.*
Doubt, annamannāte.
Drank, *gālai.*
Drink, *allin ;* (to), *gāṭai.*
Drunk, gayeti.
Dry (very), *endraṅg.*
Dug, gayā.
Dumb, berrimal.
Dung, *asoṅg.*
Dust, *dūli.*
Dwelling, dākkoyeti.

Ear, *aluḍan.*
Earring, *kuḍḍumi.*
Earth, lobo.
Eat (to), *gagabai.*
Eaten, gāyeti.
Eight, *taññe.*
Eighty, *oriji koḍi.*
Elephant, *ra.*
Eleven, *galmoi.*
Enjoyment, pullayite.
Entreating, gārgār.
Evening, vorruban.
Exempt, māyeggon, begaḍa.
Eye, *amaḍan, mōḍam, modan.*
Eyes, *bāgu amaḍan.*

Father, *u āṅg.*
Fault, dōsāle.
Fawning, praitti.
Fear, bantim.
Fears, voppūru.
Feast, parci, abbuḍrūm.
Feeding, potabe.
Female, *insolo.*
Feminine, *insolobaṭṭe santai.*
Fever, *asu.*
Ficus religiosa, *oñjer.*
Fiddle, *ranai.*
Field, *seroba.*
Fifty, *bākoḍi galji.*
Finding, gatantare, neṅgetu.
Fine, togi.
Finger, *onder, sī.*
Firewood, *arrugāl, aṅgal.*
Firing, maṅgāte.
Fit, soḍatūjan.
Five, *molloi.*
Float (to cause to), *tennā.*
Flood, rabaḍappe.
Flour, banḍrāyi; of rice, *bandri.*
Flouting, appeṅgā.
Flower, *taruba.*
Flute, *tiruḍu.*
Flying, acceṅgetu, yiten.
Foot, *geṅg.*
Foretelling, havugallā.
Forgetting, karaḍāle.
Forgotten, karīḍāle.
Forty, *bākoḍi.*
Four, *oriji.*
Fourteen, *migal bāgu.*
Fowl, *kañcim.*
From, baḍi, mukhābā, temān.
Fruit, gūr, *ajan, ujan,* jo.
Fun, goyibīr.

Gateway, dvuvārā, dāruṇi.
Get up (to), *tamaṅgbai.*
Given, tibbā.
Giving, tiyyēti, tīyite rotabe.
Goat, *kimi.*
God, *dharma boijan, kituṅgna sonuṅg.*
Going, yitte, *santai.*
Gold, *ranna.*
Good, *baṅgsa.*
Got up, dēnāti.
Gram, voḍai.
Grandchild, ulleṅg.
Grass, *ajeṅgan;* dry, *asarre;* green, *riaḍi, agāban riadi.*
Green, *ameṅg.*
Green leaf, *ameṅg vala.*
Greens, vāpu.
Grieving, yeyeti.
Grinding, garōḍāpu.
Gun, bāḍā.

Had, neṅgeti.
Hair, *ū.*
Hand, *sī.*
Handstick, ḍaṅgu.
Happened, neṅgēti.
Hatred, ampase.
He, anin, anen, anillā, aninna, hātirelu.
Head, *bāb, mandra abāb;* of a cow, *abāb taṅg;* of a man, *mandra abāb.*
Heaping, kuppāyeti.
Hearing, aḍaṅgeti, aranḍan.
Heat, *seka.*
Held, *nemlai.*
Her, anin.
Here, tīnne, *tennēn.*
Hers, anin, anināte.
Hiding, soyeti.
Hill, *barn.*
Him, anin, anninnā.
His, anañjāte.
Hole, *pattu, putar.*
Holy, *kitun.*
Horn, *siṅga, thetuḍepē.*

HORSE, *kuḍuta.*
HORSEGRAM, bilā.
HOT, *panyum,* (to the taste), soyā.
HOUSE, sūm, *suṅg, sunḍa.*
HOWEVER, yāntakambī, *yēteḍēn.*
HUMAN, *mandrana.*
HUMP, *kuppa.*
HUNDRED, *so, boso, molloi koḍi.*
HUNGER, ḍolē.

I, nain, nēn, naiyēn.
IN, allucciṅgu.
IRON, *luaṅg.*
IS, ḍako.
IT, anen.

JAGGERY, sakara.

KEEPING, ḍakkoyete.
KICKING, taṅgā.
KID, murkiḍime.
KILL (to), *kubai, kub.*
KILLING, kīyyarā kīyelleśirā.
KISSING, dondoṅgā.
KITCHEN, ḍiṅgiḍiṅgisūm.
KNEE, *manḍraḍi.*
KNIFE, *kunḍi.*

LAMB, āvaṅgame.
LAPING, jaltabe.
LATE, ḍeḍḍīye.
LATE (very), boyiboyi ḍitamboyiḍile.
LAUGH, *maṅgtai.*
LAUGHING, māṅgate.
LEAD, *sīsan.*
LEAF, *vala.*
LEAKING, tirīti.
LEAPING, labbanabetē.
LEARNING, galāmēti.
LEATHER, *usal.*
LEFT, *kandra;* hand, *kandra baḍisi.*

LEG, *putoi jiṅg.*
LIE AWAKE (to), *arnā.*
LIE DOWN (to), *amārepo.*
LIFE, *aparādan.*
LIGHTNING, cīburegam.
LIMES, limbāvu.
LINE (rope), *iḍīdin.*
LITTLE, *sana, sannan.*
LOOK (to), *gijai.*
LOOKING, gigītte.
LOUD, taruban.

MADE, tibeti.
MAKE (to), *tublai.*
MAKING, tipucebe.
MALE, oṅger.
MALE CHILD, *oṅger pasi.*
MAN, *mandra.*
MANGO, vūḍāgūr, *uda;* tree, *vūḍū arā.*
MARE, *insolo kuḍuta.*
MARRIAGE, *sedruṅg.*
MATCHING, alīṅguniyambā.
ME, nen.
MEAT, jelu, *jellu.*
MEDICINE, *regan.*
MEETING, māyā.
MELON, SNAKE, lāvu.
MELON, BITTER, yaṅgla.
MELTING, dinḍīyyete.
MENTIONED, vuppoṅgalenḍe.
MILK, āḍupu.
MIND, *mansum om.*
MISTAKE, lappēlē.
MIXING, mayitte.
MODERATE, baḍicamatkāro.
MOON, *aṅgaita.*
MORNING, taggaldan.
MOTHER, *yaṅg, boyan.*
MOUNTAIN, *baru.*
MOUNTED, dājeti.
MOUSTACHE, *korntan.*
MOUTH, *tōn, toḍam.*
MUCH, *agada.*

Mud, *lobo*.
Murder, *kubjib*.
My, vēnāte.

Nail, *akkarsī*; of the finger, akkarsi; of the toe, *karsi jeṅg*.
Nails, kimme teṅgibā.
Neck, *saṅka*.
Necklace, *taṅg gām*.
Never, aṅgijate.
Night, togal, *togolan*; dead of, boyiboyiṭogal.
Nine, *tiñji*.
No, yajḍa, *endraṅg*, *agāsa*, *ejja*.
Nose, *arnu*.
Nose ring, *kaḍḍumi*.
Nostril, *umu putaran*.
Not, yajḍa, agāḍāle.
Nothing, jigḍate, *agāsa*; for, *asiṅgēn*.
Now, namennā.
Nuts, guvā.

Objection, ḍaṅgeti.
Offender, bīrāle.
On, laṅka.
One, boyyō, *aboi*.
Opening, vūrrā.
Orange, *kumalagūr*, *kuma a*.
Ours, ambhīnāte nēnāte.
Out, paḍḍān.
Over, *laṅkan*.

Paddy, *sero*.
Paddy straw, *alāman*.
Pain, *asutti*; to cause, *iccimbi*.
Palmyra leaf, *kambāvala*.
Palmyra tree, *kambā ara*.
Paper, *kambāvalā*.
Parrot, *suppudi*.
Penetrate (Inf.), dēyeti
Penis, *loi*.
Pewter, *tarapu*.
Picking, tabeti.
Piece, raje.
Pig, *kumbun*.
Pillar, āṅg.
Pine apple, panasa.
Place erect (to), *dandaṅga*.
Planted, bisūtoneple.
Plantain fruit, kintegūr.
Please (Inf.), saradātin.
Plough, *irthu*.
Ploughing, vorro.
Plundering, rujute.
Pouring, taṅga, śīrā.
Pouring out, drumāyeti.
Powder, *rasa*.
Praising oneself, ambasimandra.
Pretending, bukkāyite.
Private parts, *alajan*, *lojan*.
Pull (Inf.), diṅgeti.
Pulled, diṅgalejā.
Pulling, ḍiṅgeti, ḍiṅgā.
Pumpkin, killayi.
Purging, soṅgaite.
Pushing, rōbā.
Putting, ḍakkoti.

Rain, ganūru, ganūr.
Rainbow, yiḍimbhom.
Ran, yīyarneti.
Recollecting, galambā.
Red, *jē*, *ajur*.
Reversing, yuvete.
Rice, ruṅku, *roṅko*.
Ridge, *oro*.
Right hand, *jendromsi*.
Ripe, *aguru*, *ajuru*.
Riping, gūrtēn.
Rising, ḍaiḍai.
Riven, voyuṇḍaṅgete.
River, avo.
Roar (to), gūtai.

Rod, ara.
Room, voccun, yalacum.
Root, ara.
Rooting, poyipoyittibe.
Rope, *loḍan*.
Round, tedēr.
Run (to), *baiya irna*.
Running, yiretin.

Sacred, *kitum*.
Sāl tree, *sargayya*.
Salt, baśe.
Sand, *lakkiyan*.
Scaling, lāmlāmeti.
Scratching, ramēti.
Searching, sāyitte.
See (to), gillai.
Seed, ajā.
Seeing, *jijiyan*.
Seen, giñjeti.
Sell (to), *teṃtem, tima, timai*
Selling, tente.
Sending, appayeti.
Sent, appāyati.
Seven, *gulji*.
Sewing, śitar, śitarā.
Share, bante.
Shave (to), *koṅgutai*.
She, ambilā.
Sheep, *mukurme*.
Shewn, apulūyitu.
Shining, pemiṅgete.
Shoes, *pandoi*.
Shot, *gudi*.
Shutting, dundrimā.
Shy, paṇḍā.
Sickle, *gartai*.
Sickness, *asu*.
Side, *mital*.
Sight, gijeti.
Silver, ruppa.
Sinking, atarle.
Sister, elder, *kāki*; younger, *āyi*.
Sit down (to), *jōbai*.
Sitting, goceti, gōbīti.
Six, *tuḍru*.
Sixty, *yakkoḍi*.
Skin, *unsal*.
Sky, *ruaṅgan, tarup, ruan*.
Sleep (to), *dimar dālai*.
Sleep, *dimarle*.
Sleeping room, *gadisung*.
Slept, dēmanēti.
Smearing, parmāreti.
Smelling, nuñjumyeti.
Snake, *jādan*.
Sneeze, tāṁuyite.
Soapnuts, ledu.
Sole (of a foot), *tāl jēṅg, oliyā, jēṅg*.
Some, aji.
Somehow, *rakkoda*.
Soon, rēyal.
Sorrowing, cintāyatu.
Sour, titiṇḍā araṅgu, *araṅg*.
Sowing, bījaḍam.
Speak (to), *bīrṇatai*.
Speaking, lāyēte.
Spitting, bijātēti, bijālan.
Spoiling, abuśerēte, tonai.
Spoke, *birna, birtai*.
Sprout, dēyeti.
Square, diṅgā.
Squeesing, labbile.
Squint, kāyiho.
Stabbing, poyēti.
Stammering, jāllā.
Star, *tujan*; stars, tuttūyīcan.
Stick, *daṅgo*.
Stirring, gorotube.
Stone, *areṅg*.
Stood, tamaṅgate.
Stop (Inf.), daṅgobeṅgiti.
Straight, rajo.
Straw, yaṁśīyalaṅgu.
Stream, joḍā.

Street, *adoṅg.*
Sugar, navālo, *sakara.*
Sugarcandy, du.
Sun, ḍāga, *oyyoṅg, oyyuṅgan*
Sunday, aḍvārō.
Swallowed, mōte.
Swallowing, mōyetu.
Sweat, *oyyōl.*
Sweet, sweetness, mana; very sweet, *lagar.*
Swelling, latām.
Swimming, hēṅgā.
Sword, lēḍilo, *kadiban.*

Table, patta, *subsakara.*
Take away (to), *paṅgai.*
Taking, nameti, pāṅgatate.
Taking out, tabeti.
Taring, riyeti, ralliśirā.
Tatty, *kuṇḍi, causeḍa.*
Teaching, yijaṅgeya.
Tears, mannamloṅguḍan.
Telescope, *targis modan.*
Ten, *galji.*
That, kunī, *antāṭe.*
Thee, amben.
Theft, *jumburre.*
Them, aninḍi.
Then, namōḍē, śalētēn.
There, koḍi, *otten, olite.*
These, kanī.
They, amemāte, aninnā aniṅgā, *aniṅgi.*
Thief, jumburu, *mandra.*
Thigh, *bulu.*
Thigh (of a hog), kincondrī.
Thirteen, *migal boi.*
Thirty, *bakoḍi galji.*
This, kanī, *kanni.*
Those, kunī.
Thou, *amān, mandra.*
Thought, tośile.
Threashing, nyāyeti, any āna.

Three, *yāgu.*
Throwing, śīrēti.
Thump (Inf.), tiḍiti.
Thunder, pattārigim.
Tie (to), *tobārāba, tobārlai.*
Tied, *jīlai.*
Tiger, *suda kiran,* kiran.
Time, voyum, kanādinnā.
Tired (to be), *maṅgālai.*
Tobacco, *poga.*
To-day, naminne.
Tomtom, *kading, dhampo.*
To-morrow, bēyo.
Tongue, *allaṅg, allaṅgan.*
Tooth, *ji, jidan.*
Tought, baimbaiyaṅgan, yaṅgyete.
Tree, *ara, anēl.*
Turban, *annal, kāb.*
Twelve, *migal.*
Twenty, *bakkoḍi-koḍi.*
Twist, bojate.
Two, *bāgn, bāgan.*

Under, *jaṭṭan jaiṭa.*
Unripe, *ameṅg.*
Urine, *anuṅg.*
Us, mallēn.
Uttering, appāyeti.

Vegetable, vāpu.
Vomitting, banta.

Walk (to), *añjilai.*
Walking, anite.
Wandering, goroyete.
Was, ḍakkōyete.
Washing, giḍḍāte.
Watching, vōrōl, ḍimmatā.
Water, ḍān, *da.*
Way, taṅgoru.
We, *ellen,* yellen, ken, mallen, ambēn.
Wearing, toleti, taṅgan-toleti.

WEEP (to), *yēḍatai.*
WHAT, vāṇḍulā, vāṇḍe, *jīte, anna.*
WHATEVER, yatindenijā.
WHEAT, gohamō.
WHEN, aṅgān.
WHERE, vānī, *oṅga*
WHISKERS, *kornthan.*
WHITE, *palu, koṅkadam.*
WHO, boten, *boṭē.*
WHOLE, kuḍḍubē.
WHOM, bhotin, nāpsele.
WHOSE, botinnāte, ayiṅgen-mandrānāte.
WHY, jinnā, *jiṭṭa san, itta san, itta asan.*
WIND, *viṅgīn.*
WINDOW, runtā.
WITH, *baṭṭe, an anden.*
WOMAN, *insolo boi, boi.*
WOOD, *dra.*

YAWṄING, taṅgaminnete.
YE, amallā, amben, ambillā, ambinni.
YELLOW, *jēkab.*
YES, *āṅg, oḍī.*
YESTERDAY, rebban.
YOU, aman, amallā, ambenap-selo.
YOURS, ambināte.

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CONTENTS

OF THE

MADRAS JOURNAL OF LITERATURE AND SCIENCE

FOR THE YEAR 1880.

I. Hindu Law in Madras in 1714, by J. H. Nelson, Esq., M.A., M.C.S.

II. The Predecessors of the High Court of Madras, by John Shaw, Esq., late Registrar of the High Court, Madras.

III. The Madras Harbour, by W. Parkes, Esq., M.IN.C.E.

IV. Descriptive Remarks on the Seven Pagodas, by Lieutenant-Colonel R. B. Branfill, G.T.S.

MAPS.

I. The Madras Harbour (*facing page* 58).
II. The Seven Pagodas (*facing page* 84).

11